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ABSTRACT

The Miscellaneous Studies section of the proceedings contains the following 16 papers: "Mickey Mouse and Bugs Bunny: Iconography of Two Corporate Stars" (William A. Mikulak); "We Know Who You Are: A Niche Communications Explication and Model" (Jana Frederick-Collins); "The Ways They Get Their Stories: Is Utilitarianism the Best Moral Theory for Journalists?" (Wing-Tai Simon Wong); "A Typology of Organizational Relationships between Public Relations and Marketing" (Kirk Hallahan); "The Paradigms of Public Relations: Treading beyond the Four-Step Process" (Kirk Hallahan); "Bypassed by the Revolution? Photojournalists in a Decade of Change" (James H. Bissland and David Kielmeyer); "Interpersonal Communication in News Diffusion: A Study of 'Magic' Johnson's Announcement" (Michael D. Basil and others); "Radical Rules: I. F. Stone's Ethical Perspective" (Jack Lule); "Psychological Type and Public Relations: Theory, Research, and Applications" (Ronald D. Smith); "Perceptions of Journalists and Public Relations Practitioners toward Their Own and Each Other's Roles: Coorientation and Q Analyses" (Daradirek Ekachai); "Design of the Native Press: A Cultural Perspective" (Lucy A. Ganje); "Sexual Harassment in Television Newsrooms" (Sonya Forte Duhe and Vernon A. Stone); "How Effective Are Codes of Ethics? A Look at Three Newsrooms" (David E. Boeyink); "Theoretical Rationale for the Use of Novels as Historical Evidence" (Bonnie Brennen); "Birth Order and News Reporting Orientation" (John F. Dillon and Jenna L. Newton); and "Media Watchers: Their Concerns, Their Tactics and Their Accomplishments" (John S. Detweiler). A "Media Watcher Directory," compiled in August 1992, is included with this series of papers. (RS)

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Part XVI: Miscellaneous Studies.

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MICKEY MOUSE AND BUGS BUNNY:
ICONOGRAPHY OF TWO
CORPORATE STARS

by

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In 1990 Time-Warner celebrated the fiftieth birthday of the cartoon character Bugs Bunny. Two years earlier the Disney company promoted Mickey Mouse's sixtieth year in grand style. Yet, they are remarkably free of wrinkles, paunches, hair loss, or other signs of advancing age. Instead, they succumbed to the pressures of the Hollywood entertainment industry as they became the top stars of their respective cartoon studios. Each began his career as a rambunctious instigator only to be refined into a respectable corporate icon. In the process, each was re-designed several times to look younger, cuter, and more anthropomorphic than his initial incarnation.

This absolute control over iconography is an extreme form of the star system that reigned from the 1920s to the 1950s, in which Hollywood studios carefully constructed images for their contracted actors as one means to differentiate their films in a competitive market. Stars were a form of capital investment, promising a degree of theatrical box office success in proportion to their popularity with movie audiences (Dyer, 1979:11). Studios promoted the visual appeal of their actors by whatever means available: cosmetic make-overs, changes in hair color and style, fashionable wardrobes, and regimens of diet and exercise. In addition, public relations people developed recognizable personae for actors by giving them biographies that matched the limited range of roles in which they were typecast (ibid, 68-9).

The commodification of actors lent some predictability to the very unpredictable movie business, but was limited by the ability of studio executives to control their stars' behavior and appearance. Cartoon studios had an advantage over live-action studios in handling stars: no matter how often cartoon characters defied the laws of physics, they submitted completely to the decisions of their creators. Nor did they require a phalanx of beauticians, plastic surgeons, or exercise coaches to alter their looks. In the words of Alfred Hitchcock, "Disney, of course, has the best casting. If he doesn't like an actor, he just tears him up" (Bogdanovich, 1973:204).

However, the ease of transformation afforded cartoon characters was limited by a host of factors endemic to the Hollywood entertainment industry in general and the cartoon industry in particular. Because these constraints changed over time it is best to begin with the silent era, when Mickey first appeared. At the time of Mickey's debut in 1928, cartoons were no longer occasional novelties but a regular feature of movie house programs. The animation business reflected the chaotic expansion of the movie industry as a whole, with its share of bankruptcies, mergers, buy-outs, talent-raids, and lawsuits over patent- and copyright-infringement (Solomon, 1989:21-41). In the 1920s, most animation studios were small independent entities entering into limited arrangements with distributors for periods of one or two years at most. Distributors contracted animation studios to provide cartoons on a set schedule at a given price per cartoon. While the studios negotiated with the distributors for copyright ownership of characters and series titles, the films themselves were only expected to receive limited releases and then be forgotten.

Thus, commercial animation operated in what Pierre Bourdieu calls a short production cycle, making low-risk investments in products that cater to a pre-existing demand. The industry used ostentatious promotion to circulate their cultural products as rapidly and widely as possible. This strategy yielded immediate profits on products that had a built-in obsolescence based on the continual audience demand for new entertainment. In contrast, the highbrow culture market makes high-risk investments in products that require a long time to accrue value (Bourdieu, 1986:150).

The film industry's short production cycle and rapid growth increased the demand for cartoons, putting a premium on speed and efficiency of production. Studios cut their costs by using Frederick W. Taylor's "scientific management" to hierarchically divide labor, which was aided by the cel animation technique (Crafton, 1982:162-8). Cel animation employs clear plastic celluloid sheets (cels) to overlay characters and moving objects onto a separate background, thus requiring new drawings only for the portion of the scene that changes from frame to frame. Because animators use pencil and paper, their drawings must be traced onto cels and painted in so the background does not show through. This affords a division of labor between the creative task of animation and the technical tasks of inking and painting.

Other technical jobs include photographing cels matched to backgrounds and washing the cels for re-use.

The creative teams consisted of animators who collaborated to create characters and generate story ideas, usually under the guidance of a head animator or director. A story was then divided into segments, each of which was assigned to an animator, who added gags as he drew the sequence. (Virtually all animators were male at the time.) This system required animators to develop interchangeable drawing styles to ensure that every cartoon had a uniform look from beginning to end. One tool animators used for this purpose was the model sheet, which showed characters in key poses, often accompanied by verbal instructions about specific design features. Figure 1 shows a model sheet of Disney's character Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, who preceded Mickey.

The creative staff saved time and money with every piece of artwork they re-used, whether backgrounds or character animation. They employed sequences of drawings called motion cycles that began and ended with the character in the same position, so the series could be photographed repeatedly to produce a longer chain of action. These economizing measures depended on a character's design remaining stable enough to juxtapose new and old animation without any noticeable difference between them. Thus, one cost of re-designing a character was the loss of these archival resources. If a character was popular enough to generate licensed merchandise, the cost of change was greater still because that particular design was a commodity.

On the other hand, countervailing pressures favored certain types of character transformation, such as the process Gestalt psychologists called "shaping." A person drawing a form repeatedly tends to simplify it and make it rounder, even while trying to retain its original shape (Arnheim, 1969:194-200). Animators were often aware of this tendency and sought circular character designs. For example, Donald Crafton suggests two reasons why Bill Nolan re-designed Felix the Cat in 1922 from a spiky, angular cat (Figure 2) into a more circular one (Figure 3): "The motives were aesthetic and economic: the rounded shape made Felix seem more cuddly and sympathetic, and circles were faster to draw, retrace, ink, and blacken" (1982:313). The new design also enhanced Felix's facial expressiveness, which was a key aspect of his greatest attribute: a winning personality in a sea of one-dimensional cartoon characters from other studios.

The success of Felix was not lost on Walt Disney, who included a very similar cat in his silent series "Alice in Cartoonland." He became dissatisfied with his next series starring Oswald the Lucky Rabbit because of budget constraints (Maltin, 1987:33). When he attempted to renegotiate his contract with distributor Charles Mintz, Mintz cut him adrift and retained the rights to Oswald. Without a distributor or a star character, Disney invested in two cartoons featuring a new character he called Mickey. He and his head animator, Ub Iwerks, collaborated on Mickey's design (Figure 4) and Iwerks single-handedly animated "Plane Crazy," giving Mickey much the same movements as he had given Oswald (Maltin, 34). They followed this with "Gallopin' Gaucho" but no distributors were interested. It was only when Disney decided to create the third one using the newly developed synchronous sound that he interested a distributor in presenting "Steamboat Willie."

In his first films Mickey's head and body are composed of nearly identical circles, with spindly rubber hoses for arms and legs, and two near circles for ears (Figure 5). Animators initially traced quarters for his head and nickels for his ears. In "Plane Crazy" Mickey's eyes looked like goggles with black pupils in large white circles but by "Steamboat Willie" the eyes were mere buttons at the base of the circles. Thus he was typical of the silent era characters such as Felix and Oswald in this simple circular design of stark black and white fields. Soon he began to wear four-fingered gloves and his eyes sometimes had pie-shaped wedges cut out of them.

"Steamboat Willie" proved a smash hit as audiences delighted in the way Mickey abused barnyard animals to make music (Figure 6). Mickey rose to instant fame largely because of the novelty of synchronized sound. He rapidly eclipsed the popularity of reigning cartoon star Felix the Cat, whose producer refused to transfer to sound production. Mickey's name grew big on theater marquees, product licensing began in 1929, and by 1931 there were over a million members of the Mickey Mouse Club (Solomon, 44-5). The downside of this spectacular success was the intense scrutiny he received. In 1931 Terry Ramsaye claimed parents regularly complained to censor boards that the mischief and outhouse humor Mickey engaged in corrupted their children (Maltin, 37). Such behavior was a staple of the silent era and other characters continued to exhibit it without much outcry because they did not bear Mickey's burden as the Ideal Role Model for American Youth.

Disney, however, came to rely on the additional revenue generated by Mickey Mouse merchandise and forced his star into the mold the protestors demanded. By the early 1930s, Mickey's devilish personality was transformed into that of an earnest, polite, ageless boy who could be as clever as the situation demanded. He became a character of reaction, requiring a strong situation to bring out his determination to succeed against all manner of obstacles (Finch, 1975:59). Supporting characters, stronger story structure, and music increasingly compensated for Mickey's nondescript amiability (Maltin, 37-8).

At the same time, Mickey was a victim of the improvements Disney demanded of the animation process. Disney began to push his animators to hone their skills to realistically convey weight, facial expressions, and bodily movement. Consequently, the characters that followed Mickey were equipped with eyes that included white areas of sclera surrounding the iris and their bodies were designed to convey bone structure and muscles underneath the skin. Such characters as Pluto, Goofy, and Donald offered animators a greater range of emotion to draw upon than did Mickey. Thus, by the mid-1930s Mickey often wound up as their straight man.

Fred Moore was the Disney animator most responsible for redesigning Mickey's look. In 1935 (Figure 7) he replaced Mickey's circular body with a pear shape that retained its volume throughout the squashing and stretching of movement. He also began to widen Mickey's muzzle and deformed the circular head and ears for more expressiveness. He counseled animators to keep Mickey cute by limiting his height to three heads, making him pigeon-toed, and accentuating his stomach and fanny (Thomas & Johnston, 1984:365-7). Mickey's eyes remained a problem because button eyes could not move well without moving the head in the same direction (Figure 8). Disney animators Frank Thomas and Ollie Johnston claim, "Eyes wandering around the face tended to produce a queasy effect on the audience, so the animator had to curtail his attempts to make Mickey have that added touch of life"(ibid, 297). This was corrected in 1938 when Moore gave Mickey expressive eyeballs for his career-reviving role in the "Sorcerer's Apprentice" sequence of *Fantasia*.

By the early 1940s Mickey's snout thickened and turned upward and his eyes grew bigger, as did his head in proportion to his body (Figure 9). In addition his ears moved back on his head to give an impression of a larger forehead. For the first time, the ears moved in perspective rather than remaining flat circles sliding around in an arc atop his head. They became extremely floppy as Mickey aquired a new-found elasticity. In films like 1941's "The Little Whirlwind" Mickey's body thinned out to near emaciation. He even lost his tail to budget cuts. However, his station in life rose from barnyard imp to respectable suburban homeowner and his attire kept pace.

By his 1947 appearance in "Mickey and the Beanstalk" Mickey's image reverted to his *Fantasia* look: the ears were again two-dimensional, his head and body more equally circular (Figure 10). His wasteline also moved downward to make his legs seem shorter. The limbs themselves grew thicker as well. The tinkering continued up until his last appearance in a theatrical short for thirty years, the 1953 release, "The Simple Things," in which his head and ears grew even larger and his eyes got rounder.

Paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould (1979) argues that the direction of changes in Mickey's appearance corresponds to the biological evolution toward more juvenile traits, technically called neoteny. Overall, Mickey's limbs got shorter and thicker, his eyes increased in size relative to his head, his head increased relative to his body, and his forehead grew more prominent as the ears retreated. This approaches the proportions found in human children. Gould cites the work of Konrad Lorenz to show that whether through genes or environment, humans react with strong affection toward those animals whose features resemble human babies, no matter how misplaced that affection may be. We transfer to these animals the evolutionarily adaptive feelings that help us nurture our own offspring. The culmination of this trend is a new series of children's books called "Disney Babies" that feature Mickey and the gang as toddlers.

Implicit in Gould's discussion is the importance of Mickey's anthropomorphism. From the beginning, Mickey's eyes, nose, and mouth were positioned as they are on a human skull rather than a rodent's. He also walked erect and was the size of a human boy. As his circles and rubber hoses gave way to anatomic naturalism, it was human anatomy upon which he was based. Mickey's increasingly elaborate costume design was integral to this progression, culminating in the tuxedo he wore in the 1950s television show, "The Mickey Mouse Club" (Figure 11).

One limitation of the evolutionary metaphor is that biological variations arise fortuitously and the fittest survive through the deterministic process of natural selection. In contrast, Mickey is the product of a commercial entertainment organization and his transformations were the result of Fred Moore's intentional re-modeling. Moore was a specialized worker whose status in the hierarchy gave him license to try innovative solutions to the problem of representing Mickey. A deterministic force of nature did not select Mickey's changes, nor did a reified entity called the public. Instead, Walt Disney made the decisions in all matters from story editing to character design, and Moore showed Disney each alteration with trepidation (Holliss & Sibley, 1986:43).

Currently there is no single Mickey design that has banished the rest. Merchandise in stores today displays him in his "Plane Crazy" design, his early 1930s classic look, as well as later expressive-eye designs. The Disney company even encapsulated

Mickey's evolution in a poster, but they minimized the more extreme differences and omitted his "Plane Crazy" design entirely. While this tactic implies a linear progression to a final mature version, the wealth of competing images available negates this message. Even Mickey's most recent appearance in the 1990 "Prince and the Pauper" is closer to the 1947 "Mickey and the Beanstalk" image than to the poster's concluding design.

Such a multiplicity of forms signifying a single entity contributes to Mickey's deification as the wholesome spirit watching over all things Disney. The company opted to exchange Mickey's versatility as a character for his more lucrative role as corporate icon. The icon gained what the character lost: particularity was sacrificed for universality, vitality for nostalgia, and substantiality for abstraction.

Mickey is now what Pierre Bourdieu would call a consecrated cultural product that has accrued enormous value. The expansion of the Disney company from its entrepreneurial origins to a global entertainment giant fits the pattern Bourdieu maps out whereby a firm grows large enough to operate two competing economies: one devoted to new cultural production and one that exploits its consecrated products (1986:157). Management and marketing priorities often channel investments into low-risk exploitation at the expense of innovative production. Thus, the Disney company and its partners reportedly spent over $100 million dollars promoting Mickey's sixtieth birthday (Magiera, 1989), while current Disney animators merely hope to match the quality of the classic films produced under Walt's guidance.

The Time-Warner conglomerate also currently divides its animation activities between merchandising its 24 Karat rabbit and producing his animated heirs. For his fiftieth birthday celebration last year, Bugs Bunny benefitted from the same kind of marketing and merchandising blitzkreig that greeted Mickey, bought at similar expense (Magiera, 1989). The official logo shows Bugs attired in a tuxedo, his eyes peeking knowingly out of nearly closed lids, as he lounges within the Warner Brothers target (Figure 12). Time-Warner also enlisted Bugs and the old stable of characters to make cameo appearances in a new syndicated television series, "Tiny Toon Adventures." The show features child-sized versions of the old Looney Tunes, each with a new name and a personality that is an updated variant of his or her classic counterpart (Figure 13).

By creating cute new children Babs and Buster Bunny, Time-Warner and executive producer Steven Speilberg avoided juvenilizing Bugs in the manner of such Saturday morning shows as "Muppet Babies" and "Flintstone Kids." Instead the old characters are now responsible adults who teach the kids how to be funny at Acme Looniversity. A typical Bugs cameo occurs in a 1990 episode called "The Learning Principal," in which Buster is sent to the principal's office for misbehaving. Upon arrival he is frightened by a Wizard of Oz scene until he discovers Bugs behind the curtain. What is the reason Bugs gives for the deceit? "Sometimes you kids need to get shaken up a little.

It's the only way you'll learn." In addition to this new authoritarian personality, Bugs is designed and animated poorly on the limited budget of television animation. His eyes seem to move independently of each other and his eyebrow ridges and nose bulge unpleasantly.

As with Mickey, Bugs is currently on view in a number of guises, "Tiny Toons" constituting only one of his showcases. However, he has one design that has dominated, with some variations, since the mid-1940s. While Mickey's classic early 1930s look has always been popular with merchandise buyers, Time-Warner only licensed early designs of Bugs to support the fiftieth birthday promotion. They also officially declared his first appearance to be the 1940 short, "A Wild Hare," thus ignoring several cartoons released beginning in 1938 that had radically different versions of Bugs in them. The official Bugs Bunny biographer, Joe Adamson, first mentions these earlier characters only to cite Warners animators who discount any relation between them and the "true" Bugs Bunny (1990:51-4).

While such a strict demarcation serves the purpose of marketing of Bugs as a coherent character, it does a disservice to animation history by denying the tension between collaboration and competition that fueled the cartoon industry in the late 1930s. Just as Mickey combined elements of Oswald, Felix, and Buster Keaton (Crafton, 297), Bugs was an evolving mixture of adaptation and innovation. The studio that created him, Leon Schlesinger Productions, had been in existence since 1930 and already had a hit star with Porky Pig. Thus, Bugs did not bear the burden that Mickey bore to be the star that must save the studio from bankruptcy.

Warner Bros. distributed Schlesinger cartoons and, conforming to industry trends, bought the studio in 1944. It was one in a field of competitors that labored in the shadows of the Disney company. Since Mickey's debut, animation production became more specialized as writers were hired to create storyboards and animation chores were hierarchically divided into the positions of head animator, animator, assistant animator, and in-betweener. Leon Schlesinger, in marked contrast to Walt Disney, was indifferent to anything but profits. Thus, his studio's autonomous production units were headed by directors who had creative freedom within the limited budget and schedule. The in-house competition this arrangement fostered was countered by regular story conferences in which all the writers and directors helped strengthen each other's cartoons.

By 1938, Disney's cartoon shorts were increasingly devoted to nuances of character at the expense of gags and story pace. No other studio could spend as much time or money to gain the naturalism that they did, so the Schlesinger animators opted for the unnaturalism of outrageous characters acting out high-paced genre parodies strewn with popular culture references. The first version of Bugs Bunny was just such a looney, aggressive character who was closely based on a character introduced a year earlier, Daffy Duck (Figure 14). Director Ben "Bugs" Hardaway's cartoon "Porky's Hare Hunt" pitted straightman Porky against a short, non-descript rabbit with a cone-shaped head on an oval body. Mel Blanc gave the rabbit a shrill voice with overtones of Goofy and a laugh that would shortly become Woody Woodpecker's trademark. A slower, non-speaking version of this character again appeared in the 1939 cartoon "Prest-O Change-O," directed by Chuck Jones.

Animator Charles Thorson next changed the rabbit's design, giving him a more circular face atop a more defined muzzle with protruding buck teeth (Figure 15). The enlarged eyes are set lower in the head, exposing a fuller forehead. He crouches forward tentatively in this design. Again, this shift conforms to the juvenilizing trend that Gould noted in Mickey. In terms of personality, this rabbit (now dubbed Bugs's Bunny) is still a manic instigator who cares not for the laws of logic as he pulls ketchup bottles from thin air and goes into frenzied acrobatics to frustrate the unfortunate hunter in the 1939 cartoon called "Hare-um Scare-um." Chuck Jones used the same design but slowed him down considerably, allowing him to express annoyance and consider ways to retaliate when Elmer tries to take his 1940 picture in "Elmer's Candid Camera."

Tex Avery made several considerable changes in the character to yield the first appearance of the bunny that would be recognizable to today's audiences. Robert Givens worked up a design that featured an oval head with long eyes angled back towards the ears (Figure 16). The nose was placed down at the front end and the ears spring out on either side of the back end. He retains the forward crouch but it is more flexible than the prior design. Steve Schneider suggests, "Disney understood that kids warm up to rounded forms. Think of the structure of Bugs: He is long and lean and pointy and phallic, long ears, with razor-sharp teeth that bite. This was a character that was not based on circles, but on blade shapes, projectiles. Even his eyes are sharp, rather than round" (Adamson, 55).

Compounding these outward changes was the new personality that Avery imposed. In "A Wild Hare" the rabbit became unflappable when threatened by a hunter with a gun, asking nonchalantly, "What's up, Doc?" for the first time. The slowness of the Jones character became imperturbability. Mel Blanc also gave him a new voice that combined Brooklyn and Bronx accents to indicate his toughness. By trading outright screwiness for intelligent impudence, Bugs became a sympathetic, even enviable character (Schneider, 1988:177-182).

Animator Bob McKimson created a new Bugs Bunny model sheet in 1942, which he refined in 1943 to yield the classic design that has dominated ever since (Figure 17). The long snout of '42 was shortened in '43 by indenting his nose slightly. His muzzle was also widened in '42 and given a bit of scruff on the edges in '43. His chest was also emphasized more in the '43 design and the eyes change from angling outward toward his nose to angling inward. These changes had the effect not of juvenilizing Bugs, but anthropomorphizing him. Chuck Jones noted that the cheeks in the 1943 Bugs design made his mouth so expressive that minute changes could alter his emotional state (Adamson, 63-4).

The mode of independent production units allowed Bugs to appear with slight design variations in concurrently released films. Friz Freleng's unit tended to draw him slightly taller and older than did Chuck Jones's (Province, 1990:19). On becoming a director, Bob McKimson gave Bugs a bigger mouth and muzzle than the other two units, as this late 1940s model sheet from his unit demonstrates (Figure 18). Each unit also developed its own antagonists for him as well as recurring motifs.

The Bugs Bunny personality was also a composite of traits that changed over the years. In his early appearances, Bugs ranged from excitable victim (e.g. "Tortoise Beats Hare" [1941], "Falling Hare" [1943]) to unprovoked heckler (e.g. "The Wacky Wabbit" [1942], "Wabbit Twouble" [1941]). Gradually both of these extremes were excised from his personality until he required a serious provocation to launch a counter-attack and he maintained his composure through temporary set-backs until he triumphed in the end. Mel Blanc toned down the New York accent and eventually gave Bugs a self-satisfied snicker. By the end of the 1950s Bugs became a suave, underplayed character that Bob McKimson later considered too refined (Nardone, 1980:148). In 1964 the last Bugs Bunny theatrical cartoon was released.

Just as Mickey donned a tuxedo to host the "Mickey Mouse Club," Bugs joined Daffy in similar attire for a musical stage number that introduced "The Bugs Bunny Show" on primetime television in 1960. His earlier appearances as a Hollywood star played off the incongruity of his unsophisticated ghetto brashness amidst the glamorous stars (e.g. "What's Cookin' Doc?" [1944], "A Hare Grows in Manhattan" [1947]). However, by now he had become the very Hollywood royalty his humor used to deflate. The Warner executives chose to maintain this image for his comeback appearance in the 1976 special "Carnival of the Animals" (Figure 19). Then as host of the 1979 compilation feature "The Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Movie," he offered a tour of his mansion while clad in a smoking jacket. That Bugs should presently be dispensing moral lessons to his miniature likeness is yet one more indication of Time-Warner's fear of tarnishing their icon.

The Disney corporation and Time-Warner grew from small, family-run businesses into enormous international communications conglomerates. Over the years a simultaneous increase in animation production costs and shrinkage of the theatrical cartoon market caused Disney to switch from shorts to longer featurettes in the late 1950s. Warner Bros. ended its short production and distribution in 1969. Both studios retired their top stars rather than place them in substandard products. Mickey and Bugs stayed in the public eye through television re-runs, commercials for licensed products, and a variety of print media. They have returned to animation only sporadically and under close scrutiny of the top studio executives (Estrin, 1990). Shorn of those rebellious traits that first brought them to fame, they are now the establishment. They are figures of nostalgia for the

Golden Age of Hollywood cartoons. Each new museum retrospective adds to their prestige; each animation cel sold in a gallery or auction house burnishes their reputation. In the secular religion of American popular culture they are consecrated icons whom we worship with each licensed product of theirs we buy.

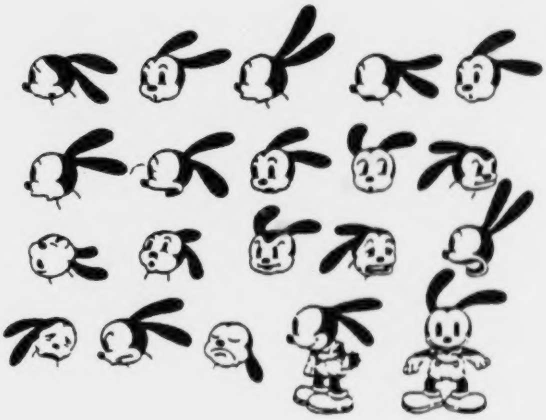
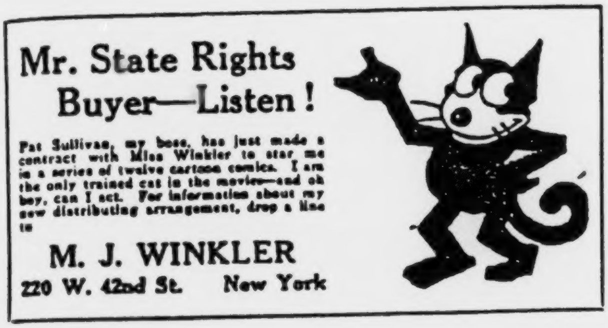


Figure 1. Late 1920's model sheet for Oswald the Lucky Rabbit (Finch, 22)



Mr. State Rights Buyer—Listen!

Pat Sullivan, my boss, has just made a contract with Miss Winkler to star me in a series of twelve cartoon comics. I am the only trained cat in the movies—and oh boy, can I act. For information about my new distributing arrangement, drop a line to

M. J. WINKLER
220 W. 42nd St. New York

Figure 2. 1920 advertisement showing original design for Felix (Crafton, 309)

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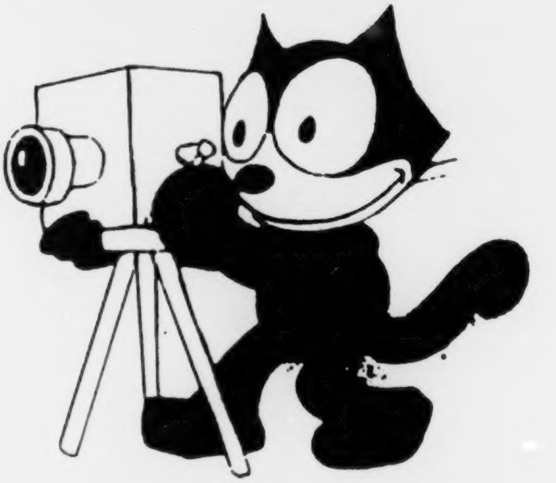

Figure 3. Felix in 1927 after re-design (Crafton, 311)

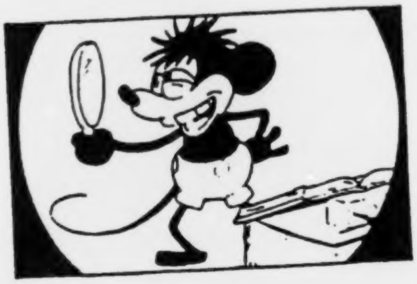

Figure 4. Mickey in 1928: "Plane Crazy" (Holliss & Sibley, 16)

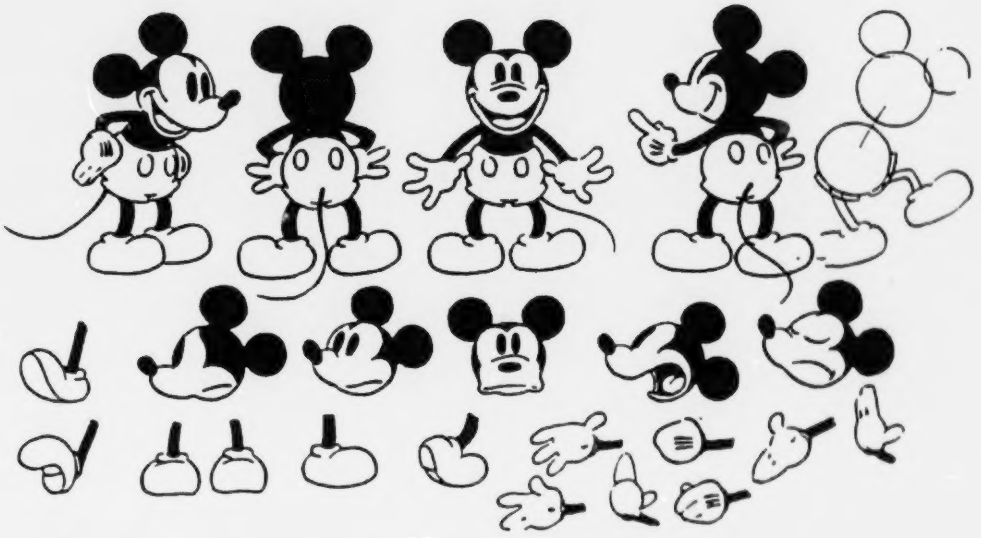

Figure 5. Early Mickey model sheet (Holliss & Sibley, 41)

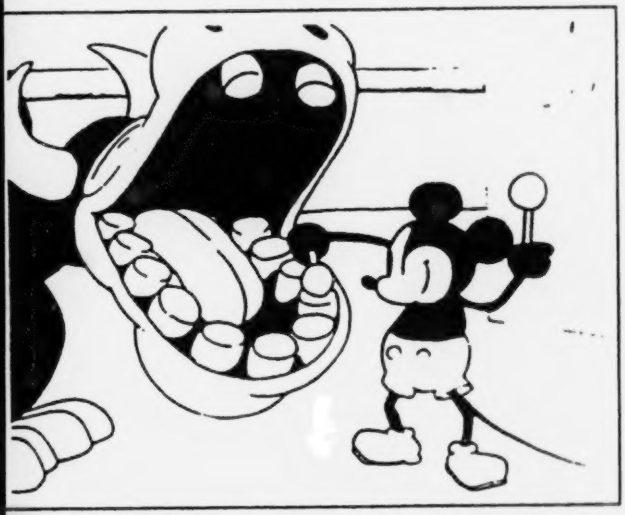

Figure 6. Mickey in 1928: "Steamboat Willie" (Holliss & Sibley, 18)

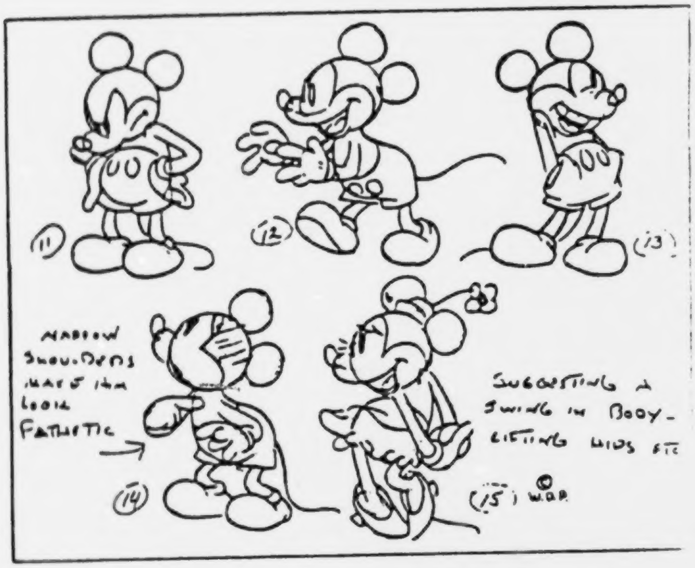
11
12
13
NARROW SHOULDERS MAKE HIM LOOK PATHETIC
SUGGESTING A SWING IN BODY - LIFTING HIPS ETC
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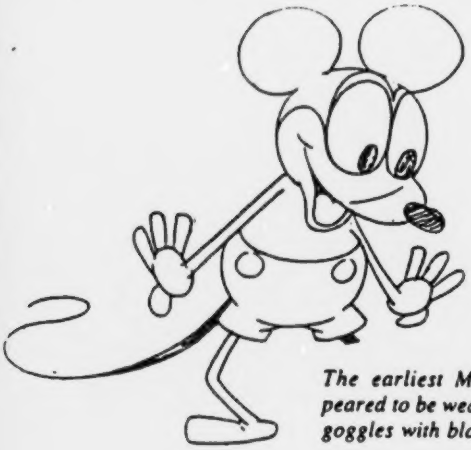
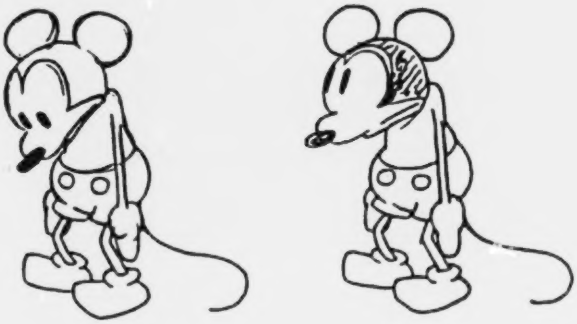
Figure 7. Fred Moore's 1935 analysis of Mickey (Thomas & Johnston, 366)

Figure 8. The evolution of Mickey's eyes (Thomas & Johnston, 297)

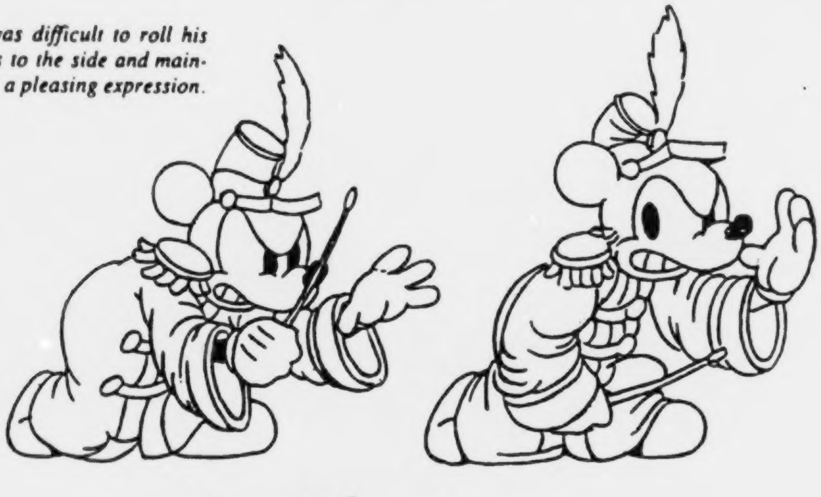


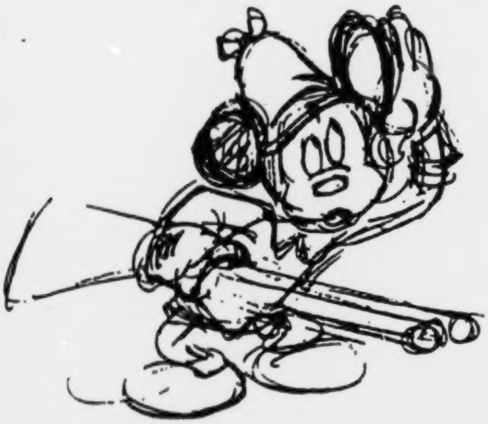
The earliest Mickey appeared to be wearing huge goggles with black pupils.

His head had to be raised to make him look up.



It was difficult to roll his eyes to the side and maintain a pleasing expression.





ARTIST: *Fred Moore.*

Mickey's new eyes used on The Pointer *(1939) opened up opportunities for more expressions.*

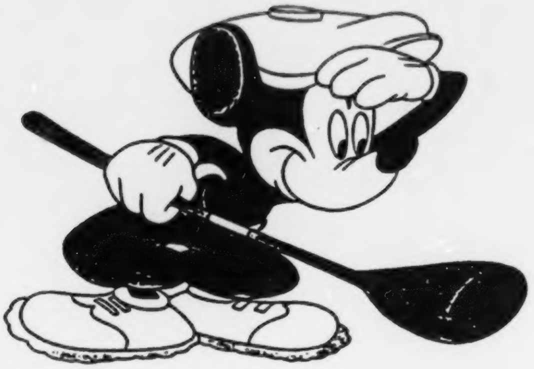


Figure 9. Mickey in 1941: "Canine Caddy"
(Holliss & Sibley, 44)

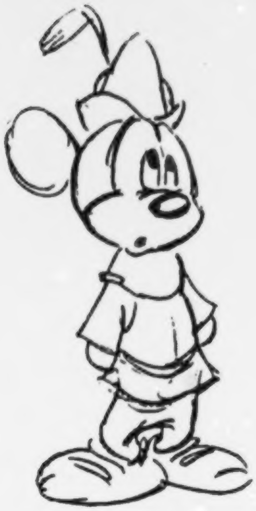


Figure 10. Mickey in 1947:
"Mickey and the Beanstalk"
(Holliss & Sibley, 70)

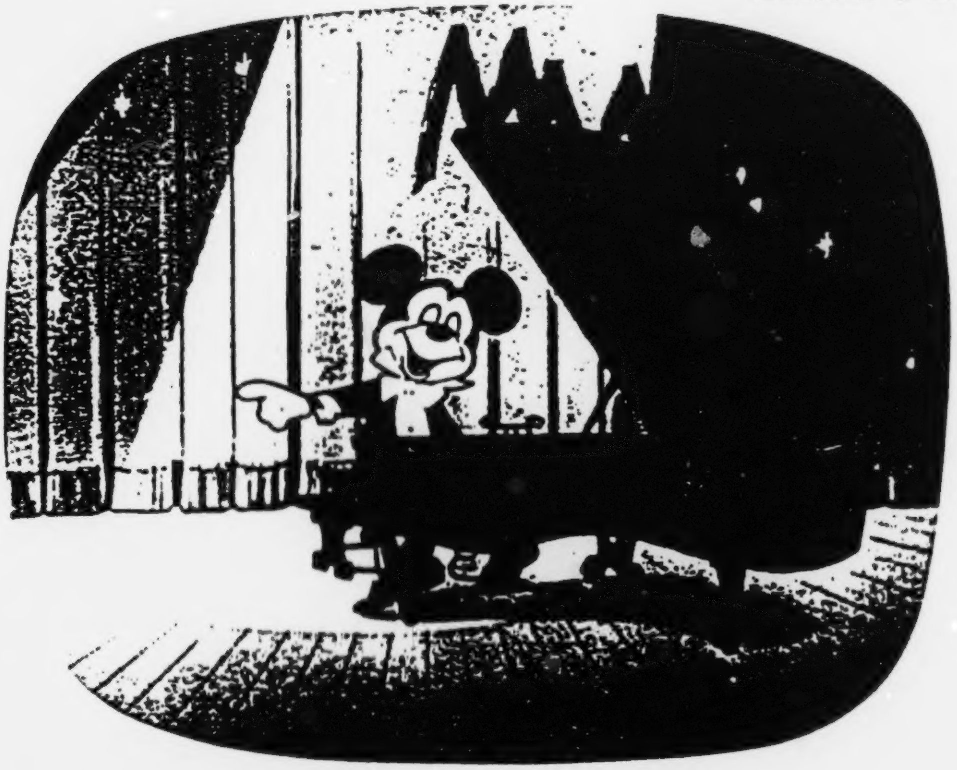


Figure 11. Mickey in mid-1950s: "The Mickey Mouse Club"
(Solomon, 205)

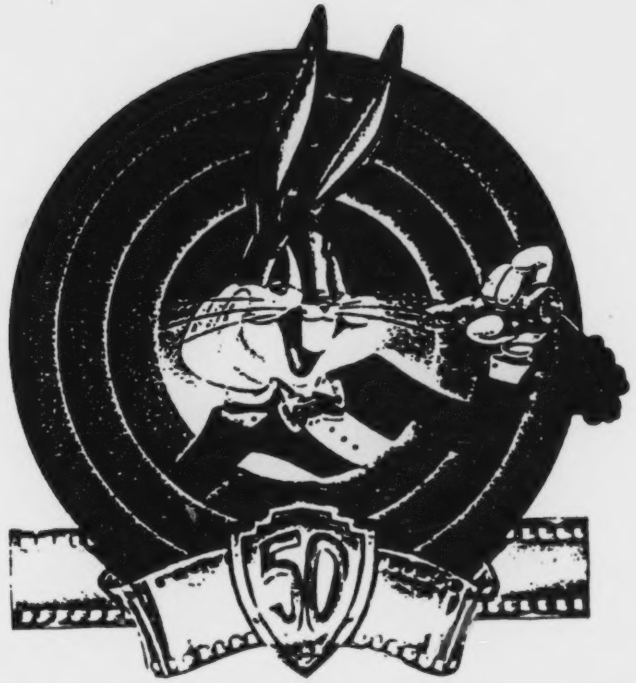


Figure 12. Bugs in 1990: 50th birthday logo (Adamson, frontispiece)

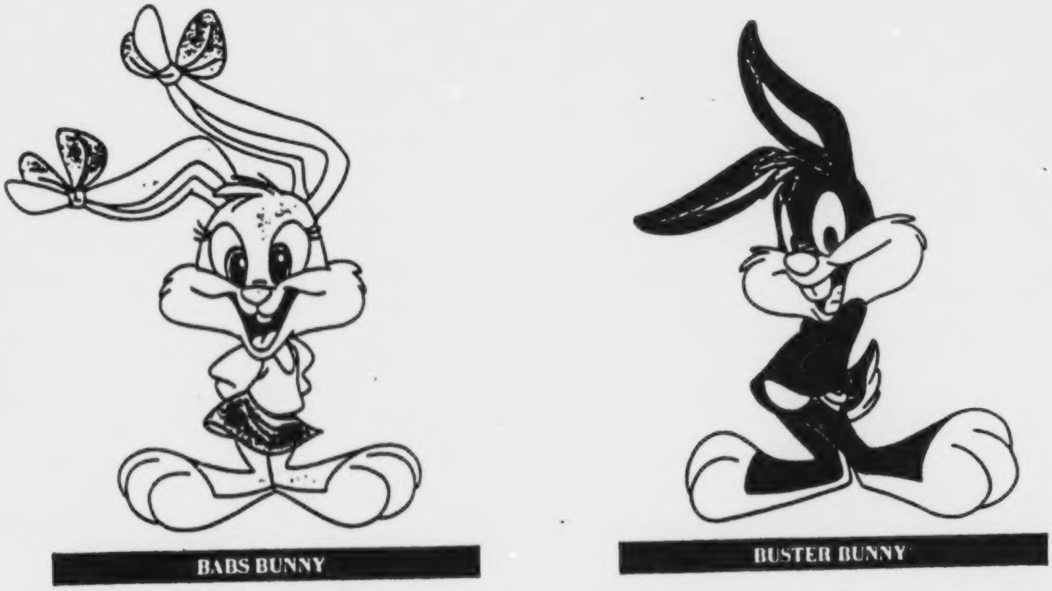

BABS BUNNY
BUSTER BUNNY

Figure 13. Babs and Buster Bunny (*Bugs Bunny Magazine*, 60)

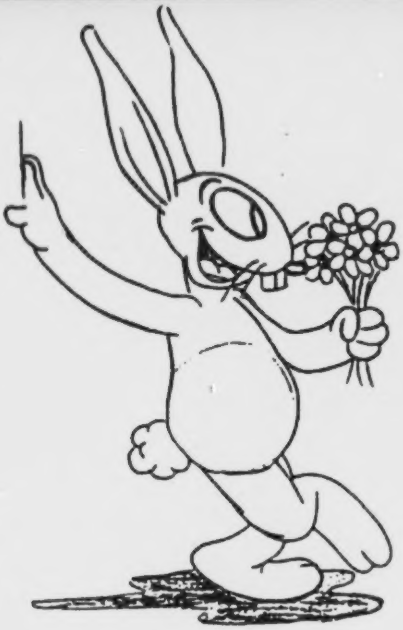


Figure 14. Proto-Bugs in 1938: orky's Hare Hunt" (Schneider, 173)

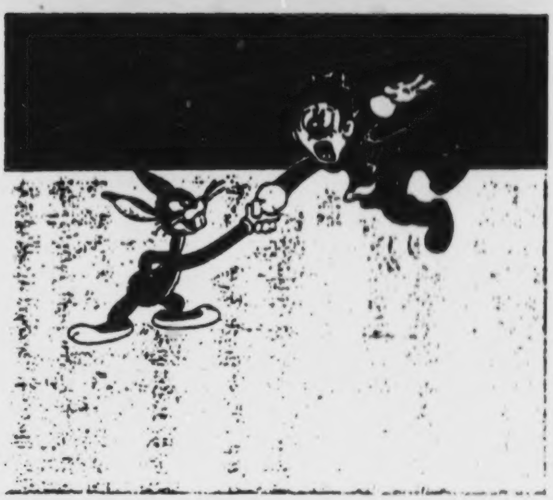


Figure 15. Proto-Bugs in 1939: "Hare-um Scare-um" (Adamson, 52)

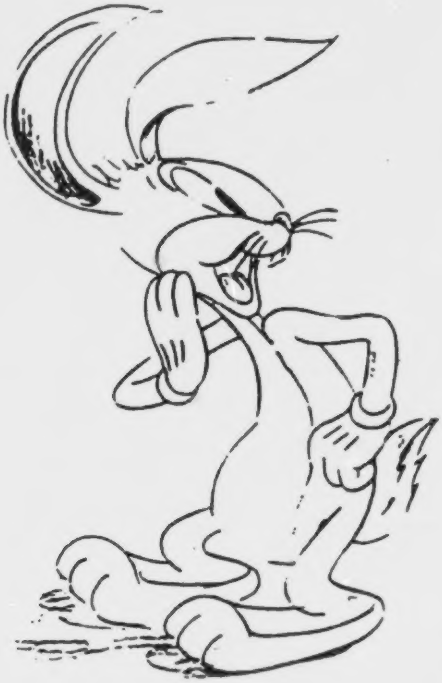


Figure 16. Bugs in 1940: "A Wild Hare" (Adamson, 54)

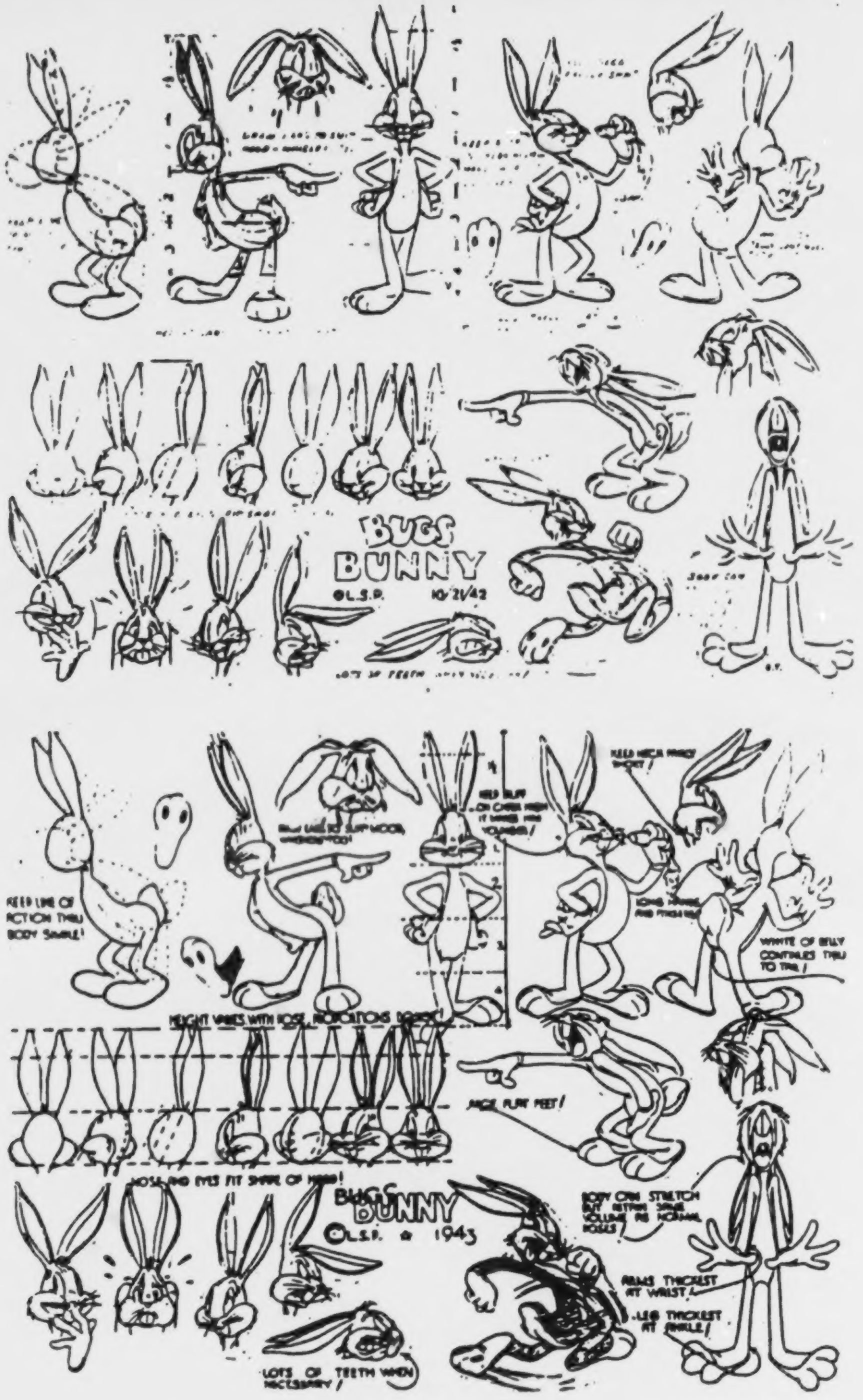

BUGS BUNNY
©L.S.P. 10/21/42
KEEP LINE OF ACTION THRU BODY SIMPLE!
KEEP NECK FAIRLY SHORT!
WHITE OF BELLY CONTINUES THRU TO TAIL!
HEIGHT VARIES WITH POSE, PROPORTIONS DON'T!
NICE FLAT FEET!
NOSE AND EYES FIT SHAPE OF HEAD!
BUGS BUNNY
©L.S.P. 1943
BODY CAN STRETCH BUT RETAIN SAME VOLUME AS NORMAL POSES!
ARMS THICKEST AT WRIST!
LEG THICKEST AT ANKLE!
LOTS OF TEETH WHEN NECESSARY!

Figure 17. 1942 (top) and 1943 (bottom) model sheets of Bugs Bunny (Adamson, 62)

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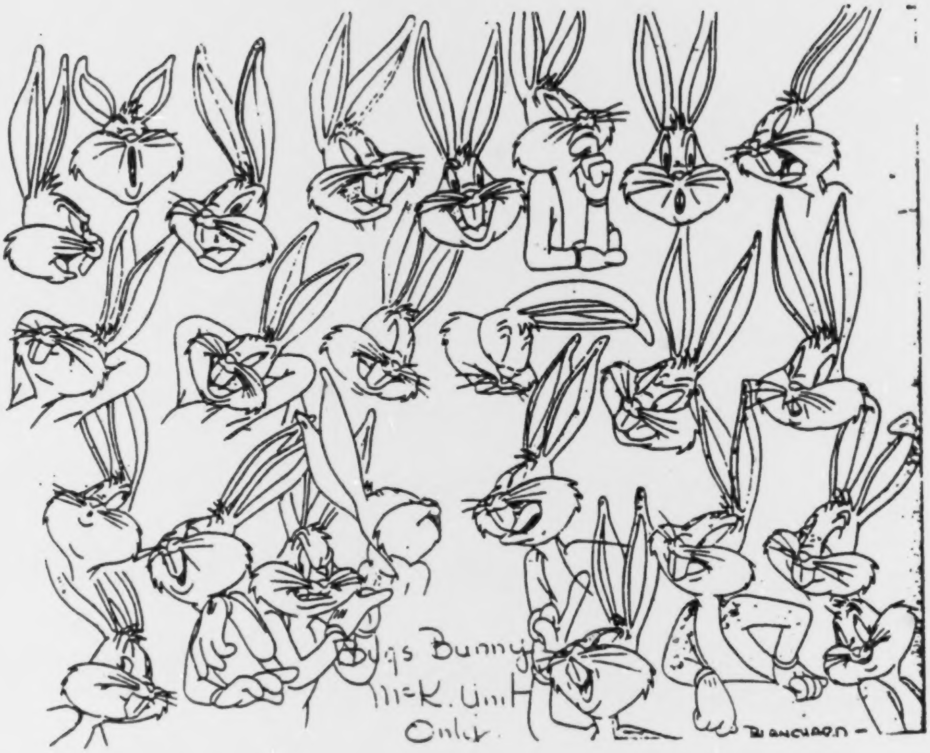
Bugs Bunny
M-K. Unit
Only
BLANCHARD

Figure 18. 1948 model sheet of Bugs Bunny (Adamson, 72)

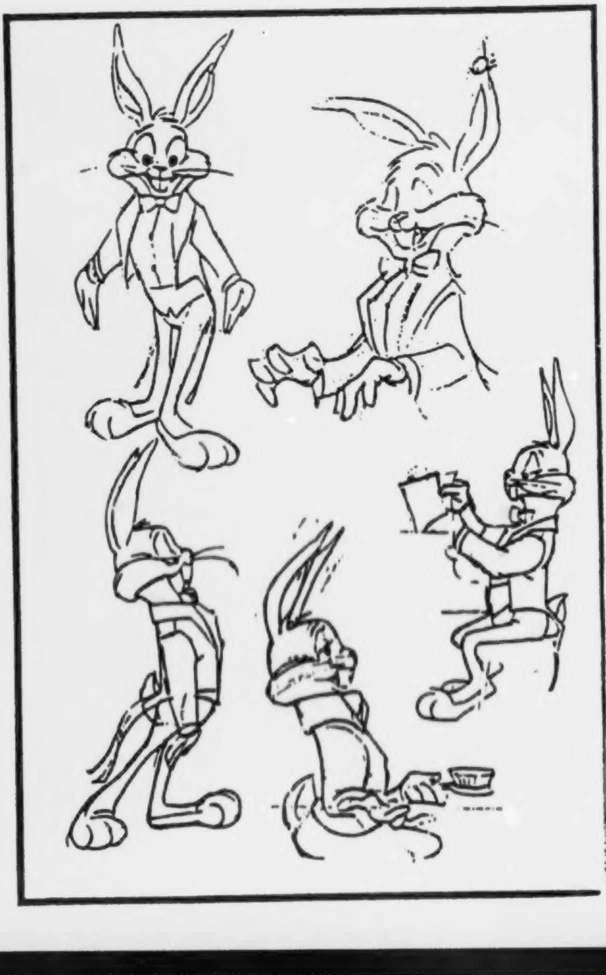

Figure 19. 1976 model sheet of Bugs Bunny for "Carnival of the Animals" (Cawley & Korkis, 31)

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We Know Who You Are:

A Niche Communications Explication and Model

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meeting August, 1992 in Montreal, Canada

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August, 1992

Abstract:

We Know Who You Are: A Niche Communications Explication and Model

Database marketing is characterized by the use of computers to collect and integrate information about individuals. Mass audience and consumer groups are segmented into 'niches' by targeting criteria and informed through new, more direct media channels. This paper examines niche marketing trends and explicates the broader concept 'niche communications' as it differs from mass communications. The paper presents a proposed niche communications model, suggests some potential expectations about the process and effects of niche communications, and discusses implications for the individual and society.

Introduction

In 1990, Porsche Cars North America compiled dossiers on 300,000 carefully screened, affluent prospects and launched an extensive direct marketing effort inviting them to test-drive its cars. According to some, the 'Porsche 300,000' might be shocked at the intimate knowledge contained in the car company's customer profiles, which included their profession, income range, past and present vehicle types, neighborhood types, and more. Noted one company executive:

> "We have access to a lot more information, a lot more specifics, than we can legally use in an unsolicited communication. We have to tread a fine line. We believe we're pushing right up against the barrier. We did a lot of research about how personal we could get with people without offending them."[1]

The Porsche 300,000 direct marketing effort is an example of 'niche' or 'database' marketing, which are characterized by the use of computer-driven audience research to compile specific customer profiles. The information can be used to craft messages tailored to narrowly-targeted audiences or even to individuals.[2] The result is that a once heterogeneous mass audience can be divided into homogeneous subsegments for product development and communications. Media messages can be designed to maximize target group attention. The message, often no longer efficient or appropriate for mass media transmission (network television, radio, daily newspaper), necessitates new and more narrow channels of communication (direct mail, special-interest magazines and newsletters, telemarketing). The increasing use of narrow and more direct media communication methods challenges basic assumptions of theories of mass media processes and effects.

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[1] Cleveland Horton, "Porsche direct marketing tabs 300,000 prospects," Automotive News 5 February 1990: 1.

[2] Jill Smolowe, "Read This!" Time 26 November 1990: 62. Subscribers to Time magazine were addressed by name on the front cover of this edition.

The purpose of this paper is to define and explicate niche marketing and media/market trends toward demassification as a broader concept that I will call 'niche communications,' and to begin a theoretical analysis of niche communications' role in and implications for the overall process and effects of mass media communications.

Background

Dubbed the "great marketing turnaround,"[3] niche marketing trends are accelerating. A proliferation of products and brands, a slowing economy, and a relative decrease in the number of consumers in the marketplace due to population trends are intensifying competition. To compete, companies are placing a renewed focus on customer satisfaction and loyalty.[4]

Marketing philosophy has shifted from a production-driven approach that assumed a mass market for products and was characterized by the notion "if we can make it, it will sell".[5] The move is toward a consumer-driven approach that focuses first on defining consumer needs and then developing products to fill them. Computer and communication technologies are providing new tools for studying consumers and new channels for reaching them.

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[3] Stan Rapp and Tom Collins, The Great Marketing Turnaround: The Age of the Individual-and How to Profit from It (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1990): 140-141.

[4] Kathleen Deveny and Peter K. Francese, "Shrinking Markets: Finding a niche may be the key to survival," Wall Street Journal 9 March 1990: R29.

Niche marketing has been fueled by the rapid development of personal computing.[6] For example, database software is used to collect and electronically integrate detailed information about consumers from multiple sources. Consumers are categorized by demographics, purchasing behavior, geographic location, and more. With desktop publishing software, companies and organizations can generate their own newsletters, magazines, and direct mail pieces. New printing techniques mean magazines can be personalized by region, neighborhood, and even individuals.

Niche marketing techniques enable a company to find and focus on those prospects with a favorable orientation toward the product and those who are most profitable. By redirecting communications resources to these most likely prospects instead of mass audiences, wasteful communications are reduced and measurability for response and effects is greater.[7]

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[5] E. Jerome McCarthy and William D. Perreault, Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach (Homewood, Il: Irwin, 1987): 27.

[6] The cost of maintaining a customer record on a computer has fallen from nearly $10 in 1967 to under a penny in 1990 according to Robert M. Smith of Targeted Communications Corporation.

[7] Rapp and Collins, 140.

Mass communications media traditionally include network television, radio, general-interest magazines, posters, daily newspapers, and mass mailings. New communications media enable companies to communicate directly with narrower market subsegments. Special-interest cable television stations and programs, closed-circuit television, special-interest magazines and newsletters, computer-assisted telemarketing and direct mail, faxes, and interactive computer networks are but a few examples of new media.

Demassification is a buzzword for media and market trends toward dividing large, heterogeneous audience and consumer groups into smaller, more homogeneous subsegments and communicating with them through narrower, more specialized media channels. New media offer advertisers reduced waste and increased efficiency by appealing only to those most likely to be interested or sympathetic toward the message.

The term "bypass"[8] has been used to refer to the idea that many businesses are using computer database marketing methods to circumvent traditional mass media advertising vehicles in favor of direct marketing methods. It is estimated that newspapers in markets of 1 million households lost at least $4 million in advertising revenue in 1988 to database-driven direct marketing methods alone.[9]

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[8] Thomas B. Rosenstiel, "The Newspaper Business is Full of Awful Stories," The Los Angeles Times, 23 April 1990: D5, 1.

[9] Pamela M. Terrell, "Database Marketing: Friend or Foe?" Presstime, December 1990: 42.

Defining Niche Marketing

The concept 'niche marketing' encompasses terms like database marketing, relationship marketing, relational marketing, and response advertising. 'Database marketing' is defined as the collection of information on customers that can be used to understand their behavior with respect to a product in order to increase sales.[10] 'Relationship' or 'relational marketing' describe attempts to develop a channel of continuing, direct communication with prospects or customers that is appealing, interactive, attitude shaping, and sales producing.[11] 'Response advertising' is advertising crafted primarily to create interaction with prospects and feed information to the advertiser's in-house database.[12] The computer database facilitates information management and makes niche marketing possible.

Information about individuals has been quietly accumulating in management information systems for years.[13] Individuals relinquish personal details when applying for mortgages, driver's licenses, utilities, and telephone service;[14] when entering contests or calling toll-free information, consumer hotline, and fee-based 900 telephone numbers;[15] and when cashing electronically traceable cents-off grocery coupons[16] or using check-cashing privilege cards.[17]

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[10] Pamela M. Terrell, "Database Marketing: Newspapers can use it to boost advertising and circulation," Presstime July 1990: 7.

[11] Rapp and Collins, 47.

[12] Rapp and Collins, 47.

[13] Jeffrey Rothfeder, Stephen Phillips, Dean Foust, and Wanda Cantrell, "Is Nothing Private?" Business Week 4 September 1989: 74-82.

Computer database software manages the large lists of individuals' names, addresses, and personal characteristics such as age, income, credit rating, education, dwelling type, shopping habits, psychographics, and more. Database lists are compiled by integrating in-house customer files, customer surveys, and purchased information from government statistical departments and private market and media research companies.[18] Incomplete lists can be merged to piece together highly specific profiles of individuals that identify and group customers by profitability, propensity to purchase, political ideology, media-use habits, and more. Integrated information is used to build statistical models that predict consumer behaviors, attitudes, and values.

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[14] Michael W. Miller, "Data mills delve deep to find information about U.S. consumers: Folks inadvertently supply it by buying cars, mailing coupons, moving, dying," Wall Street Journal 14 March 1991: A1.

[15] "Mandela Gets His Own 900 Number," Direct Marketing August 1990: 16.

[16] Jan Larson, "Inside the Information Industry: Farewell to Coupons?" American Demographics February 1990: 14-17.

[17] David J. Curry, "Single-Source Systems: Retail Management Present and Future," Journal of Retailing 65.1 (Spring 1989): 1-13.

[18] Joseph P. Manning and Susan P. Haynie, "How To Read Your Customers' Minds," American Demographics, July 1989: 40-41.

Marketers use the information to identify target groups and cultivate a relationship. For example, Rapp and Collins describe several strategic models for using a customer database to maximize sales and profits. The 'education model' suggests continuing interaction with customers through "useful information provided periodically."[19] Free or paid-for product magazines offer interesting and product-related information to the consumer while working as a vehicle for product advertising. Companies can frequently renew their acquaintance with customers in a highly favorable atmosphere by offering behavioral rewards like coupons, premium catalogs, and bonuses for frequent-use clubs ('rewards model'). The 'value-added model' suggests providing additional services like a consumer hotline for product-use advice. This is beneficial to the consumer, but also provides feedback to the company's database records. The 'affinity group model' utilizes the special interest that draws customers to a product by creating a club and even charging the consumer a membership fee.[20]

Niche Theory

The concept of the niche is derived from ecology and its perspective on competition as the struggle for scarce resources. An ecological niche is defined as the n-dimensional space that describes the characteristics of the resources a species needs for survival.[21] Ecology theory has been used in sociology to develop models of the competition among social organizations for members,[22] and in marketing to describe and measure brand competition for customers in product markets.[23]

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[19] Stan Rapp and Tom Collins, Maximarketing (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987): 266-268.

[20] Rapp and Collins, Maximarketing 267.

Milne and Mason developed a niche model of brand competition using data that identified customer attributes of eight national magazines. They measured relative niche breadth (the entire range of two magazines' customers) and niche overlap (the volume of the intersection of two magazines' customers). They defined the intensity of competition as the extent to which the two magazines (species) compete for the same readers (scarce resources).[24]

In a marketing sense, identifying a new niche signals opportunity -- a new set of consumer needs awaiting a product or service for fulfillment. Niche theory also illustrates the limited nature of resources. For product marketing, consumer needs are the scarce resources. For political and social marketing, scarce resources are moral and financial support of ideas, causes, charities, and candidates. In terms of media and communication effects theory, the 'scarce resources' are such things as target audience attention, perception, comprehension, and retention.

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[21] G. Evelyn Hutchinson, "Concluding Remarks," Cold Spring Harbor Symposium of Quantitative Biology 22 (1957): 415-427.

[22] Miller McPherson, "An Ecology of Affiliation," American Sociological Review 48 (August 1983): 519-532.

[23] Hans Thorelli, "Ecology in Marketing," Southern Journal of Business (1967): 19-25.

[24] George R. Milne and Charlotte H. Mason, "An Ecological Niche Theory Approach to the Measurement of Brand Competition," Marketing Letters 1.3 (1989): 267-281.

For example, Figure 1 considers two media in a two dimensional resource space. The audience that the media are competing for are described by age and income. Each medium's niche is defined by their respective boxed areas. The volume of overlap between the two media is indicated by the shaded area.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 1 depicts the concept of the niche as it applies to media.[25] The niche defines audience characteristics and illustrates that audience resources are limited. The implication is increased competition for audiences as niche marketing methods develop new and direct communications channels. In our free market economy, this may pose a threat to the economic support structure of traditional mass media.

Niche Communications and Mass Communications

Both niche communications and mass communications use audience research to define prospective audiences and choose media vehicles. Messages profess brand superiority, product and service benefits, price comparisons, and appeals for moral or financial support. Niche communications and mass communications differ in the scope of their intended audience and in their message design.

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[25] Mathematical measurement of the niche is beyond the scope of this paper.

Mass communications messages are usually designed to be comprehensible and relevant for the broadest possible audience. This often requires defining 'lowest common denominator' characteristics and comprehension abilities among a mass population.

In contrast, niche communications address smaller groups (or even individuals) who are specifically defined by known common characteristics. Message style and content is designed for the intended receiver. Explicitly personalized messages address the recipient by name and sometimes acknowledge personal information.[26] Implicitly personalized messages can be framed according to the recipient's political, social, or economic orientations.

Audience Characteristics. Typical definitions of mass communications have included criteria such as audience size, composition, and anonymity; message exposure time; and level of interactivity between the communicator and the recipient. According to Wright,[27] mass media communications presupposes a relatively large audience exposed to a communication for a short period of time. The communicator cannot interact with audience members on a face-to-face basis. The audience is a heterogeneous aggregation of individuals occupying a variety of positions in society. The audience is anonymous, meaning they generally remain personally unknown to the communicator.

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[26] Horton, 1.

[27] C.R. Wright, Mass communication: A sociological perspective, 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1975): 5-6.

Using Wright's criteria, niche communications could be defined in contrast as follows:

1) the audience can be large, but is usually a smaller subsegment of the mass audience and is defined by at least one common characteristic;

2) the audience can be exposed to the message for a short time, but is often exposed for a longer time (for example, when the message is perceived to be of high personal relevance it may be given more attention time, or the interactive nature of some niche marketing methods such as telemarketing and interactive television may require more attention time;

3) the audience can be heterogeneous on many factors, but there is at least one common factor known to the communicator and used to craft the message for the recipient;

4) the recipient can be anonymous, but usually the communicator can be relatively certain that those attending to the media and message are possessed of the qualifying characteristic, and the communicator may even know the identity of the recipient;

5) while not face to face, interaction between the communicator and the recipient is far more developed for niche communications. Interactivity and immediate response is usually a goal of the communication through a specific call to action that often be concretely measured.

For example, national television brand advertising of a breakfast cereal is an example of mass communication because it is directed at a large, heterogeneous, anonymous television audience. Even when the brand is developed and positioned to appeal to a certain target group, the message is designed to be comprehensible and appealing for exposure to a large audience. The exposure time is usually 30 second or less, and there is no immediate opportunity for interaction between the advertiser and the audience.

In contrast, the same cereal is marketed directly to a subset of consumers using niche communications by offering incentives like prizes or special merchandise to motivate kids to join a special cereal club.[28] Through the membership drive, the company collects the names, addresses, and other information about the children. This information is used to communicate directly with 'club members' using letters, prizes, offers for special promotional merchandise, contests, coupons, newsletters, magazines, and even videotapes.

Niche Communications and Society

Niche marketing extends beyond product and service marketing to the marketing of ideas, social causes, charities, and political candidates. The promotional nature of a market economy brings morally-charged, controversial issues into a marketing and promotions framework. Schudson notes:

> We live and shall live, barring nuclear or other disaster, in what has been called a "promotional culture." America has long been a nation of salesmen and the "shoeshine and a smile" that were Willy Loman's stock-in-trade are now the tools of politicians and religious evangelists and

---

[28] Julie Liesse and Ira Teinowitz, "Databases uncover brands' biggest fans," Advertising Age 19 February 1990, 1.

hospital administrators as much as of advertising agents and public-relations directors.[29]

Niche communications has economic, political, and social dimensions. Economic niche communications are primarily used to achieve business profit goals through product development, increased sales (primary demand), and brand positioning and superiority (secondary demand).

Political niche communications methods are used by candidates, parties, political action committees, and other coalition groups for vote-getting and fund-raising. Niche communications methods like direct mail are not new to political communications. Indeed, the Democratic National Committee raised contributions from 300,000 donors with a national mail solicitation program during Woodrow Wilson's administration.[30]

Social niche communications techniques are used by corporations (e.g., advocacy ads) and citizens' groups (e.g., Common Cause, National Organization for Women, Greenpeace) to advance their agendas by gaining moral and monetary support. Political and social groups are increasingly realizing the importance of electronically integrated information for targeting and personalizing messages.

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[29] Michael Schudson, Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion (New York: Basic Books, 1984): 13.

[30] Robert G. Meadow, ed., New Communication Technologies in Politics (Washington: Annenberg School of Communications, 1985): 72.

A Model of the Niche Communications Process

The model in Figure 2 illustrates how niche communications further differs from mass communications along the dimensions of the basic source-message-channel-receiver model. Westley and MacLean's conceptual model of the mass communication process puts the receiver at the end of the linear progression of mass communication. In their model, feedback is generated upon receipt of the message.[31]

Figure 2 about here

Figure 2 shows that for niche communications the feedback often is generated before the message is designed. The key development accounting for this reversal of the linear communications process is the application of computer database systems and software to integrate information from various sources and create precise consumer profiles. This information is not always dependent on the recipient's feedback from a preceding message.

The 'integrated data system' shown in Figure 2 is an artificial construct that represents existing accessible information about individuals and groups. For example, existing sources include credit bureaus, government statistics departments, the U.S. Census Bureau, telecommunications corporations, private list brokers, and private market research companies, to name just a few.

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[31] B.H. Westley and M. MacLean, "A Conceptual Model for Communication Research," Journalism Quarterly 34, (1957): 35.

The model reverses the Westley and MacLean linear model by putting the receiver (B) at the beginning of the communication process. A profile of receiver B is available using resources from the electronically-stored information in the integrated data system. This self-reported 'feedback' from B (fB) might include survey completions, credit and licensing applications, club membership applications, frequent-user benefits, etc. Feedback from the communicator (fAB) about behavioral traits of B (fIB) also contributes to the integrated profile. These behavioral reports might include: voting patterns, political affiliation, contribution behavior (political dimension); self- or scanner-reported purchasing behavior, self- or electronically-reported media-use behavior, responses to other promotional calls to action (economic dimension); or, membership habits and contribution behaviors (social dimension).

Events that initiate a message (X1, X2,...Xn) are interpreted (XP, XS, XE) by the political (e.g., election, referendum), social (e.g., environmental or consumer advocacy movements), and economic (e.g., product and service development) sectors. The communicator (A), whether of the political, social, or economic arena, uses the available integrated information about the receiver (B) to choose whether to send the message to B, how best to design the message for B (XPB, XSB, XEB), and the most efficient and effective channel (C1, C2, etc.) to reach B.

A comparison of this niche communications model to the Westley-MacLean model shows that the role of the media channel (C) is no longer central in the sense that it, like the message, is now arbitrated by the role of the integrated data system. The initiating role of the receiver (B) in the niche communications model also differs from Westley and MacLean's initiating position of the communicator (A) in the linear process. The message stimulates feedback in their model, while the feedback stimulates the message in the Figure 2 niche communications model.

Limitations. While the model is designed to emphasize how niche communications diverges from mass communications, the niche communications process does not exclude the use of a message to instigate feedback. Indeed, the niche communications process often is an ongoing interactive process of information exchange between the communicator and the receiver.

In addition, the division between niche communications and mass communications is not always clearly defined. Mass media can be used for niche messages (e.g., a narrowly-targeted television commercial designed for certain audience members), and niche media can be vehicles for mass messages (e.g., a mass mailing to a broad audience.

The model is designed to emphasize the linear flow beginning with B. In reality, the dynamics of the communication process do not necessarily have a clear or single point of initiation.

It also should be noted that the model's integrated data system is in reality not a single information source or unit, but a simplified representation of various data sources that companies, organizations, and even individuals can access and integrate to produce audience profiles. The integrated data system also represents channels of feedback from the receiver (B) to the message source (A). For example, feedback might be in the form of financial contributions in response to political solicitations or product purchase behavior in response to advertisements.

The proposed niche communications concept and model has been presented as one example of the potential for niche communications to profoundly alter the way we think about media communications. The model's potential to reverse the linear communication process suggests wide-ranging implications for communication theory on both individual and societal levels. Based on niche communications as presented, I will suggest some possible expectations about the persuasive power of messages and about individuals' 'message environments.'

Persuasion Theory and Niche Communications

Messages are mediated and processed by individuals in different ways. Hyman and Sheatsley found that selective attention to political material was in accordance with an individual's own taste and biases.[32] Increased attention to messages consistent with one's own attitudes and experiences suggests the potential for increased effectiveness of personalized niche messages. In their study of information campaigns that failed, Star and Hughes concluded, "Information grows interesting when it is functional, that is, when it is so presented that it is seen to impinge upon one's personal concerns."[33]

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[32] Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," Public Opinion Quarterly (Fall 1947): 413-423.

Rotzoll, Haefner, and Sandage note that increased relevance of advertising may increase its effectiveness by decreasing what they call the 'irritation factor':

> One could, then, assume that as media become more specialized the irritation factor of advertising will diminish. Thus, an individual watching a cable sports channel or another reading Modern Maturity magazine may be more likely to find the respective advertisement of interest than the same persons watching the unpredictable commercial mix on prime-time network television. We all know, of course, that much of the time advertising seeks us rather than the other way around. And our responses to these often unintended encounters can range from surprise, amusement, and interest, to irritation, disgust, and apathy."[34]

Message-based theories of persuasion suggest that the growing pool of information resources available to communicators through computer database technologies may enable communicators to craft more persuasive appeals. McGuire's model suggests responses to a persuasive communication occur through the stages of exposure, attention, comprehension, yielding, and retention.[35] A better understanding of the recipient's orientations may enable a communicator to facilitate message 'yielding' and 'retention' through enhancement of the first three stages of exposure (narrowly targeted media channels); attention (high personal relevance); and comprehension (messages designed to recipient's comprehension level).

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[33] Shirley A. Star and Helen MacGill Hughes, "Report on an Educational Campaign: The Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations," The American Journal of Sociology 55, (1950): 389-400.

[34] Kim B. Rotzoll, James E. Haefner, and Charles H. Sandage, Advertising in Contemporary Society: Perspectives Toward Understanding, 2nd ed., (Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Co., 1990): 6.

Cognitive-response theory holds that persuasive power lies in the positive or negative thoughts a message evokes in the recipient. A communicator who knows details about recipients' orientations can better couch communications messages in a favorable light and hence increase their persuasive power.[36]

Petty and Cacioppo's elaboration-likelihood model also supports a more powerful effects theory for niche communications. They differentiate between high-involvement and low-involvement messages. When personal involvement or relevance is high, recipients are motivated to process communication messages through a central route involving cognitive processes. When relevance is low, a peripheral route is followed. Their model predicts that the central route to information processing will result in a more enduring attitude change that is more closely related to behavior.[37] Based on elaboration-likelihood theory, we would expect more powerful persuasive effects of niche communications messages that are personalized to be relevant to the recipient.

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[35] W.J. McGuire, "Theoretical foundations of campaigns," in Public communication campaigns, eds. R.E. Rice and W.J. Paisley, (Beverly HIlls, CA: Sage, 1981): 41-70.

[36] A.G. Greenwald, "Cognitive learning, cognitive response to persuasion and attitude change," in Psychological Foundations of Attitudes, eds., A.G. Greenwald, T.C.Brock, and T.M. Ostrom (New York: Academic Press, 1968): 361-388.

Persuasion Threshold. Persuasion theories seem to support an argument for more powerful effects of niche communications. However, the extent to which we may expect persuasive power to increase may be constrained by a certain threshold level beyond which effects diminish. For example, the recipient may become irritated or suspicious by explicit personal information contained in the message. Different types of people may respond differently. A message clearly indicating that the source knows a specific piece of personal information about the receiver may instill increased source credibility in some people and skepticism or anger in others. The persuasion threshold may dictate the level of personal information a person responds to or tolerates in a personalized message. Further research is needed to address issues such as these.

Ethical questions arise regarding the potential for exploitation. Fear or guilt appeals could be based on a known situational factor (e.g., a weakness) of the recipient. For example, J.C. Penney's issues additional credit to their credit card customers who are charged to their credit limit. The additional credit is extended in the amount of a life insurance premium the company is soliciting. The company's message raises the question of how the credit-holder's family will manage their debt if something unexpected should befall the customer.

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[37] Richard E. Petty and John Cacioppo, Attitudes and Persuasion: Classic and Contemporary Approaches (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1981): 255-269.

Freedom of choice in the marketplace is enhanced by the free flow of accurate information about available alternatives: "Through the ongoing conflict of ideas in the marketplace--e.g., the overweight person is exposed not only to the tempting messages of the confectioners, but also to the persuasive arguments of the products and services of weight reduction."[38] However, ethical questions may arise in the case of a national weight-loss organization that sold their membership list to a chocolate company (whose profits "took a delicious turn upward.")[39]

Further research may be needed to test the effects of personalized approaches to communications messages. For example, an experiment measuring cognitive responses of subjects as they read messages that are personalized at various implicit and explicit degrees may help to define and explain the existence of persuasion and/or irritation threshold levels. Another research suggestion is a field experiment using a split-run communication campaign to test the effectiveness of different levels of message personalization. Measurement analysis could include response levels to a call to action and/or a follow-up survey. Research addressing these questions may also serve to enlighten the current debate about individual privacy and the need for regulation of transfer and sale of database information.

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[38] Rotzoll, Haefner, Sandage, 69.

[39] Christopher Ryan, "We know where you live: Marketers target residents with sales precision," Miami Herald 15 October 1990: E1.

Message Environment and Niche Communications

An individual's 'message environment' is a construct to describe the sum of messages to which he or she is exposed either voluntarily or involuntarily. A message environment that is increasingly tailored to an individual's economic, social, and political orientations could lead to less exposure to a diversity of ideas, a more limited agenda of what is important to be thinking about, and an insulated world-view.

For example, an individual who is opposed to gun control is likely to receive newsletters and solicitations for support from the National Rifle Association, hunting and gun product catalogues, hunting and outdoor magazines, and messages corresponding to an anti-gun control viewpoint from other political, economic, and social organizations. While the individual is better-served by information that is relevant to his or her own interests, the integrated effect of the message environment may be that alternative viewpoints such as arguments supporting gun control are excluded. A message environment that once may have been 'filtered' through selective attention now may be 'pre-filtered' by message sources seeking to eliminate wasteful communication efforts by appealing only to those most likely to have a favorable orientation toward the product, service, or idea.

Public opinion theories involving individual perceptions of a 'climate of opinion' raise questions about societal effects of individual message environments that screen out alternative ideas and consolidate and reinforce existing ideologies. For example, the underlying assumption of spiral of silence theory is that the unified picture of events and issues that is often shared by the mass media leads to a perceived majority opinion. Noelle-Neumann argues that those holding alternate views on an issue are less likely to speak up on the issue if they perceive that they are in a minority. The presence of alternative points of view in the marketplace may then be reduced.[40]

Noelle-Neumann describes the dynamic elements leading to a perceived majority of opinion as the ubiquity, consonance, and cumulation of the mass media's shared perspectives. These forces, intensified in a message environment dictated by niche communications, could lead an individual to perceive that his or her opinions _are_ held by the majority because the messages he or she sees are purposively designed in consonance with his or her own views. Contrary to spiral of silence theory, then, alternative viewpoints in the marketplace may _not_ be reduced as individuals, perceiving they are of the majority opinion, would be more willing to speak up on issues.

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[40] Elisabeth Noelle-Newmann, "The Spiral of Silence: A theory of Public Opinion," _Journal of Communication_, (Spring, 1974): 43.

'Message environment' is a concept that needs to be further developed. For example, a field experiment requesting that subjects monitor and record the sources of each incidence of exposure to a particular issue might yield a profile of their message environment. Survey data of subjects' demographics and ideological persuasions could be compared to their media messages to explore for patterns.

The ubiquity and volume of messages in an individual's message environment make it unlikely that alternative viewpoints about a particular issue could be entirely screened out. However, an acceleration of the trend toward niche communications could in a more subtle way isolate an individual from diversity by reinforcing currently held beliefs, values, and attitudes.

Conclusions

Niche marketing methods may empower consumers by increasing the relevance of messages in their communications environment. Niche communications may offer consumers opportunities to play a more proactive role in choosing and even screening relevant media communications from among the ever-growing array. Consumers may be better served by product companies and political and social organizations that are informed about their constituents' needs, values, attitudes, and behaviors.

Niche communications could potentially reverse the traditional linear communications model (source-message-channel-receiver) by changing the order of the feedback process. If the trend toward niche communications continues, the effect could be a message environment in which opposing viewpoints and irrelevant information are screened out. This could benefit the individual by improving the relevance quality of his or her message environment. However, questions arise about the potential for powerful persuasive effects and a message environment that limits diversity and creates an isolated world-view.

In this paper, I have examined several ways in which the processes and effects of niche communications differ from traditional mass communications and discussed some potential implications for individuals and society. This set of possible expectations are offered to stimulate discussion and provoke thought. This paper only touched on other related issues such as invasion of privacy and the potential threat to the economic support structure of a free press. Many questions remain about the processes, effects, and implications of niche communications for communication theory and research.

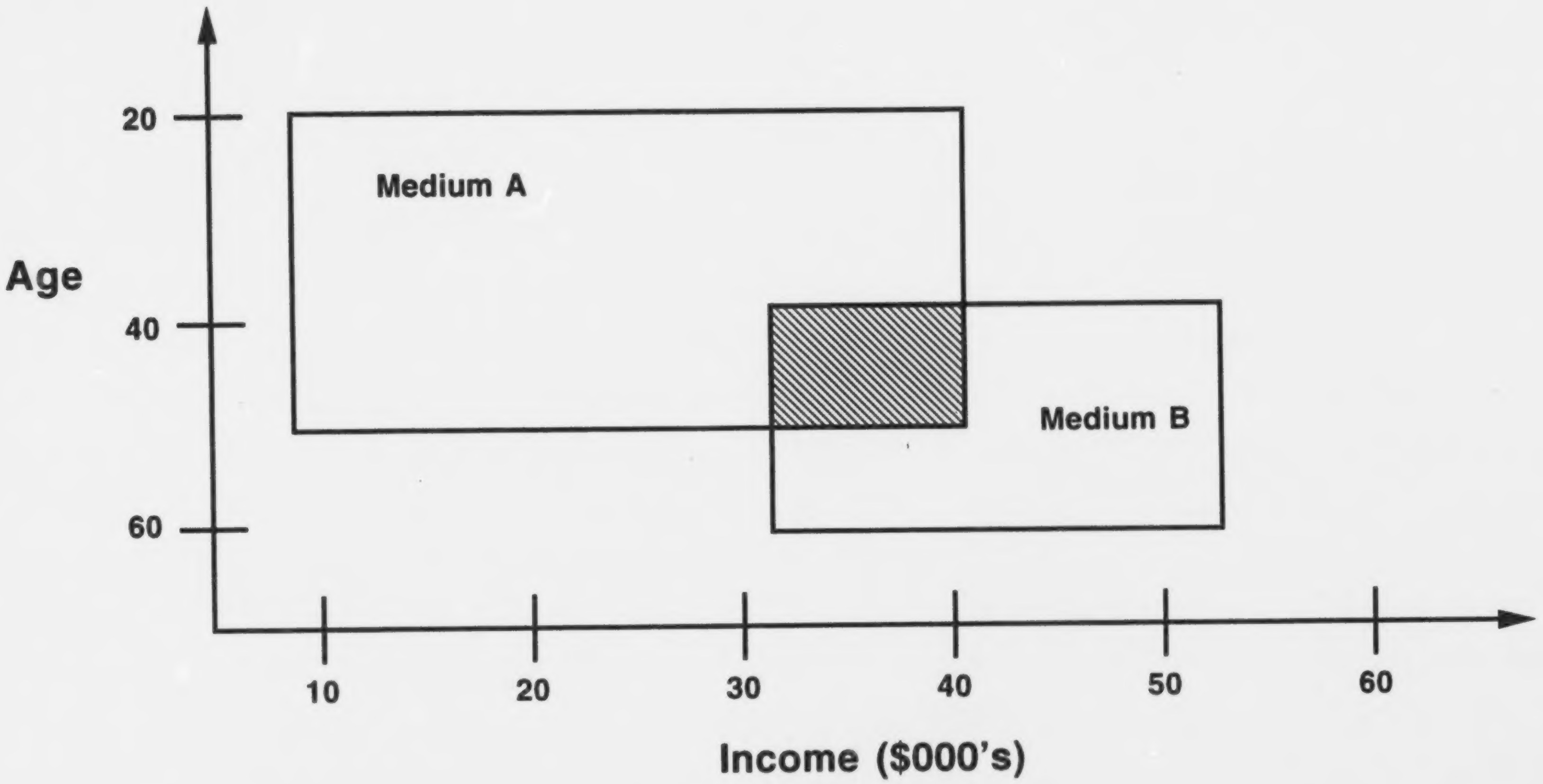
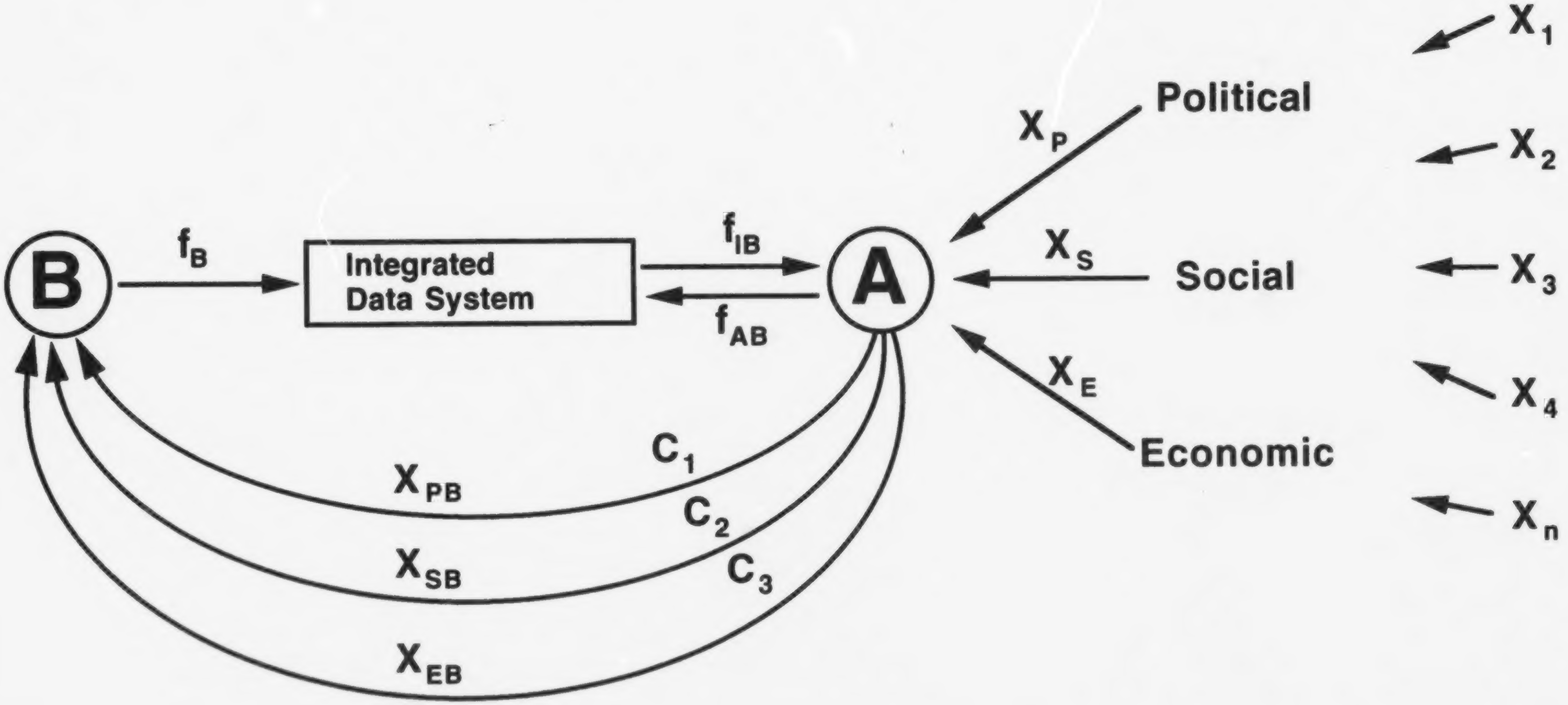

Age
20
40
60
Medium A
Medium B
10
20
30
40
50
60
Income ($000's)

Figure 1. Niche overlap example



B
f_B
Integrated Data System
f_{IB}
f_{AB}
A
X_P
Political
X_S
Social
X_E
Economic
X_1
X_2
X_3
X_4
X_n
C_1
X_{PB}
C_2
X_{SB}
C_3
X_{EB}

Figure 2. Niche Communications Model

The feedback B transmits to the integrated data system (f_B) represents self-reported information. The integrated data system then becomes A's source of information about B (f_{IB}). The feedback that A transmits to the integrated data system (f_{AB}) represents reports of B's behavior in response to messages or as a result of integrated research. Events that initiate a message ($X_1, X_2 \ldots X_n$) are interpreted by the political, social and economic sectors (X_P, X_S , X_E). The political, economic, or social source/communicator (A) then crafts a targeted message for B (X_{PB}, X_{SB} , X_{EB}) and transmits it through a niche channel (C_1, C_2, $C_3 \ldots C_n$).

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The Ways They Get Their Stories:
Is Utilitarianism the Best Moral Theory for Journalists?

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This paper analyzes deceptive journalism and proposes a set of moral rules to be applied by journalists who contemplate engaging in it. The author suggests that the traditions of utilitarianism usually invoked are morally inadequate. The history of prize-winning investigative reporting is replete with such examples. Utilitarians tend to claim that the ends justify such means, that the public's right to know permits unethical newsgathering techniques.

Deception is defined, and applied to journalism. The theory of utilitarianism is analyzed, from Bentham's hedonic calculus to Mill's efforts to distinguish between qualitative and quantitative assessments of pleasure. Insights from contemporary philosophers such as Pojman, Frankena, Brandt, Bowie, Hardin, and others are reviewed, with special emphasis on act and rule utilitarianism's inability to resolve questions of social and distributive justice.

The author's search for a more suitable ethical framework centers on mixed deontological theories, such as those advocated by philosophers Ross and Frankena, and as applied to journalism by Elliott, Hodges, and Hausman. A new four-step test for journalistic deception is proposed; it suggests that before engaging in deception, journalists should make sure that the use of deception is the only way to get the story; the story must be of prime public importance, and the consequences of uncovering it will promote the greatest goodness or remove the greatest evil in society as a whole; the deceitful means must be legal and will not hurt innocent people, including reporters themselves, or put them at risk; journalists must be honest in disclosing their deceitful methods.

First runner--up, Moeller Student Paper Competition, Mass Communications & Society Division, AEJMC, August 1992.

The ways they get their stories:
Is utilitarianism the best moral theory for journalists?

Introduction: The Problem of Deceptive Journalism

The first day I started working with the *Sing Tao Yih Pao,* one of the biggest newspapers in Hong Kong, I came across this situation:

A man had died in an industrial accident. My city beat colleague, posing as the victim's friend, called the man's wife up and told her that her husband was injured in the accident and was sent to hospital to receive medical treatment. He then asked her to give him her address so that he could come to her house to help handle the matter. The woman gave her address to him. But the goal of my colleague, of course, was to get more information about the dead man and, if possible, some exclusive photographs of the victim's family. He had no intention of helping the woman. None at all.

Frankly, at that time I didn't realize there was anything wrong with what my colleague had done. I only asked him why he didn't tell the woman that her husband was dead. He replied,"I don't want to hurt her." I put no blame on him, but thought that he was a kind man who always avoided doing harm to others. Was I right? Needless to say, in retrospect the answer is "no." My colleague's lying and masquerading were both unethical and unnecessary. He should have told the woman that her husband was dead, because even though he lied to her, she would soon know of the tragedy anyway. She would still be hurt. Also, he shouldn't have pretended he was the man's friend; he should have identified himself as a reporter. It might be true that if the woman knew that my colleague was in fact a reporter, she wouldn't have given him her address. However, why couldn't he try other moral ways to get what he wanted instead of deceiving? He could, for instance, follow the police's investigation or check with the telephone company to find out the address. Therefore, his deception was not justifiable.

I must concede that, in general, journalists in the British colony have little concern about what "ethics" in journalism really means. After all, in Hong Kong, a "good" journalist is defined as one who individually can unveil information of great public importance, regardless of how he gets his story. The colony's reporters are not alone in this aspect. Few will disagree that despite the fact that American journalists are now struggling for a legal as well as ethical standard of their professional practice, doubtful tactics in gathering information , particularly in undercover investigative journalism, were not unusual in the past, especially before the eighties.

It shouldn't be denied that undercover reporting techniques, which inevitably require certain degrees of deception, have been misused by journalists. As a result, from the moral point of view, it seems that reporters were nothing but utilitarians, i.e., they would do anything they could such as lying to their sources in order to get their stories. And "utilitarianism" seemed to be the best moral theory for them to justify their behaviors. In other words, "the end always justifies the means" became the charm to free unethical journalists from blame. But times have changed. In this essay, I'll try to argue that utilitarianism is not an adequate moral theory for journalists. Instead, I'll attempt to offer another theory —"mixed deontological theory," or "theory of obligation," suggested by philosopher William Frankena (1973, 1976)—for media professionals to deal with ethical problems arising when gathering their news.

There are a number of questionable methods reporters use to get their stories and pictures: eavesdropping, surreptitious taping (secret tape recording), ambush interviewing, using hidden cameras, and deception. I would like to focus my discussion on the last one, "deception." According to Sissela Bok (1978), deception occurs "when we undertake to deceive others *intentionally,* we communicate messages meant to mislead them, meant to make them believe what we ourselves do not believe. We can do so through gesture, through disguise, by means of action or inaction, even through silence" (p. 13). It, therefore, may be in the form of lying, concealment, misrepresentation, misidentification, and masquerading. But, as Louis Hodges (1988) said,"... deceit, whatever its form, is almost universally regarded as morally wrong. ... because it usually hurts someone" (p. 27). I agree.

Actually, not only western moral thinking criticizes deception, but Chinese moral thinking condemns it too, even much more severely. Many Chinese people believe that those who deceive, especially in the form of lying, will receive harsh punishment after death; their souls will be sent to the Seventh Hell to have their tongues cut or pulled out (Eberhard, 1967, p.54). Though this spiritual penalty might not really happen, it shows the immorality of not telling the truth or being dishonest. Confucius, our Chinese Greatest Teacher of All the Ages, once said,"Clever talk (use fine words to exaggerate what you have said) and a pretentious manner are seldom found in the Good" (Waley, 1964, p.84). As we can see, in the Master's ethical standard, even exaggeration is bad, let alone lying or cheating.

American journalism ethicist Deni Elliott (1985) has suggested four different types of journalistic deception: Primarily lack of identification (not telling folks you're a journalist); passive misrepresentation (collecting facts for publication without revealing your identity); active misrepresentation (deceit by making sources think you're one of them); and masquerading (role-playing, becoming something you aren't, just to get a story). Elliott believes that these deceptive techniques are not equally wrong, and that they demand different levels of moral justification. Although I admit that various degrees of deceit may lead to various kinds of harmful results, and some may hurt worse than others, I don't think they are much different in terms of the very nature of morality. Using Hodges' (1988) words, "... at all levels of deception the intent is the same, i.e., to gain some advantage by deception, by not letting the other party know exactly what is going on. ... the source/subject is equally deceived, equally 'taken in,' at all levels. ... Hence all levels of deception are equally in need of justification. ... (They) must be justified by the same moral standard" (pp.30-1).

Ethically questionable deceptive tactics are commonly found in undercover reporting. As its name suggests, undercover reporting is "investigating something by having reporters pass themselves off as insiders" (Goodwin, 1987, p.137). The history of this kind of reporting technique dates back to the 1890s, when the old *New York World* reporter Elizabeth Cochrane pretended to be insane to find out how patients were treated in the Blackwells' Island Insane Asylum (Goodwin, 1987, p.137). From then on, throughout the early and mid-twenty century, it is easy to find all sorts of undercover reporting going on without being questioned. Journalism historian Frank Luther Mott once started collecting the best stories and publishing them in a book each year; undercover reports were frequently included (Goodwin, 1987, p.138).

Why were undercover investigations abused by journalists? Well, it is simply because journalists usually find it easier to gain information if they act deceptively. Moreover, the results of undercover reporting are often dramatic and exciting; they make good reading and viewing (Goodwin, 1987, p.137), and sometimes even win prizes. For examples:

Edgar May of the *Buffalo Evening News* won a Pulitzer in 1961 for articles based on his taking a job as a social worker. Ten years later, the *Chicago Tribune* got a Pulitzer for a series by William Jones reporting on collusion between police and private ambulance companies that he learned about by working as an ambulance driver (Goodwin, 1987, p.139). In 1977 two *Chicago Sun-Times* reporters, Pamela Zekman and Zay N. Smith, trained as bartenders, bought and ran a tavern they called the "Mirage," and uncovered the fact that dozens of governmental inspectors were soliciting bribes to overlook deficiencies in the building (Goodwin, 1987, pp.136-7). During the same year, the *Milwaukee Journal* used five reporters posing as patients to investigate Medicaid in the Milwaukee area, and discovered that at least one doctor had apparently abused drugs and medicine. That "drug abuser" later fled to Cyprus to escape prosecution (Goodwin, 1987, pp.149-150). There are numerous other examples of such reporting, some of which have resulted in major national awards in journalism.

"Get the story; get it out." That is what *Chicago Tribune* columnist Bill Granger believes to be the only two rules of real newspapering. "All the rest is up to private conscience," he wrote. "You can be one of nature's nobles as a reporter and you can be a low-life, but the litmus test is the same for both of you—Get the story. Get it out" (Schmuhl, 1984, p.14).

Granger's remarkable comments, I think, clearly explain the professional duty of a journalist. Indeed, for a reporter, what else is more urgent than getting a story? Thus, in order to achieve this end, journalists may sometimes use unethical means. As put by Eugene L. Roberts, executive editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer,* "We have to have high standards, but we can't get so finicky about ethics that we use them as excuses for not doing our jobs" (Goodwin, 1987, p.187). Although I don't agree with Roberts when he says "we can't get so finicky about ethics," I do confess that he correctly points out the reason why journalists are tempted to use immoral ways to gather information; quite simply, they need to get their jobs done.

In addition, I believe that the fourth principle stated in the "Ethics" section of the Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi's code of ethics also raises some serious questions. The principle reads:

"Journalists will seek news that serves the public interest, despite the obstacles."

We should notice the phrase "despite the obstacles," because, in my opinion, many of the most critical moral problems of news-gathering originate from it. A philosopher, Jeffrey Olen (1988), expressed his deep concern about this principle by writing that "It is here, in attempting to overcome obstacles to gathering the news, that their (journalists') role-based obligations are most likely to come into conflict with their wider moral obligations" (p.18).

There is no doubt that, when we talk about applied ethics or "doing" ethics in journalism, the obligation to get the news and the abusive use of undercover reporting have created an image that journalists *are* utilitarian, i.e., they would utilize all sorts of means, even if unethical, to collect information they think the public has the right to know, and if released, would result in promoting goodness for the society. Accordingly, utilitarianism, by definition, *is* the most suitable moral theory for reporters to justify their behaviors. Nonetheless, as I mentioned earlier, I don't find this inference convincing for today's journalists. Before arguing this more fully, I would like to explain more about utilitarianism.

The Theory of Utilitarianism

Jeremy Bentham (1948), who was believed to be the first to systematize classical utilitarianism, asserted that "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure* . It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne" (p.1). He affirms that the *principle of utility*, or the *grestest hapiness* or *greatest felicity* principle, is the foundation of morals: An act is morally right as it tends to promote happiness (or benefit, profit, advantage, convenience, emolument, pleasure, or good), wrong as it tends to produce pain (or mischief, loss, disadvantage, inconvenience, unhapiness, or evil). Bentham further invented a methodology known as "hedonic calculus" or "felicific calculus" for measuring pleasure and pain of an act along seven dimensions: intensity, duration, certainty (or uncertainty), propinquity (or remoteness), fecundity, purity, and extent (p.30). By summing up all the values of all the pleasures on the one side, and that of pains on the other, Bentham claims that "Take the *balance*, which, if on the side of *pleasure*, will give the general *good tendency* of the act, with respect to the total number or community of individuals concerned; if on the side of pain, the general *evil tendency*, with respect to the same community" (p.31).

Despite its systematic mathematical approach, Bentham's philosophy has been dismissed as a "philosophy for pigs" because "a pig enjoying its life would constitute a higher moral state than a slightly disatisfied Socrates" (Pojman, 1990, p.75). It was John Stuart Mill who tried to save utilitarianism from the charge of being a pig-philosophy by drawing his famous distinction between quantitative and qualitative assessments of pleasure. "It is quite compatible with the principle of utility to recognize the fact that some kinds of pleasure are more desirable and more valuable than others," Mill (1969) wrote. "It would be absurd that while, in estimating all other things, quality is considered as well as quantity, the estimation of pleasures should be supposed to depend on quantity alone" (p.211).

Mill argued that the higher-order pleasures like intellectualism, aesthetics, and minimal suffering are superior to lower ones such as eating, drinking, and resting, so "a being of higher faculties requires more to make him happy, is capable probably of more acute suffering, and is certainly accessible to it at more points, than one of an inferior type." (p.212) Thus, he concluded that "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied" (p.212).

Philosopher Louis P. Pojman (1990) defined utilitarianism as "a universal teleological system that calls for the maximization of goodness in society—for the greatest goodness for the greatest number." A teleological system considers "the ultimate criterion of morality to lie in some nonmoral value that results from acts." A teleologist is a person "whose ethical decision-making aims solely at maximizing nonmoral goods, such as pleasure, happiness, welfare, and the amelioration of suffering." His standard of right or wrong action is "the comparative consequences of the available actions: *That act is right which produces the best consequences*" (pp.73-4, emphasis added)

A utilitarian, for instance, will judge that "lying" is morally right if the result it produces is the maximum good for the whole society (a rule-utilitarian may disagree with this, as will be discussed later). There are other definitions of utilitarianism. One, by William Frankena (1973), says that "the sole ultimate standard of right, wrong, and obligation is the *principle of utility,* which says quite strictly that the moral end to be sought in all that we do is *the greatest possible balance of good over evil* (or the least possible balance of evil over good) in the world as a whole" (p.34).

Generally speaking, utilitarianism is of two types : 'act' and 'rule' utilitarianism (There are other kinds of utilitarianism, such as general utilitarianism, but these two seem to be dominant in the contemporary literature). Act-utilitarianism can be defined as "an act is right if and only if it results in as much good as any available alternative" (Pojman, 1990, p.77). Rule-utilitarianism can be defined as "an act is right if and only if it is required by a rule that is itself a member of a set of rules, the acceptance of which would lead to greater utility for society than any available alternative" (Pojman, 1990, p.78). Contemporary well-known rule-utilitarian Richard Brandt suggested that the thesis of rule-utilitarianism, the older form of utilitarianism, is roughly that "an act is morally right if and only if roughly the prevalence of a moral code (or structure of character) permitting that act would be as beneficial as an otherwise similar code which prohibited it" (Bowie, 1983, p.82). In short, the difference between 'act' and 'rule' utilitarianism is that the former puts its emphasis merely on the result of an act, while the latter looks for the rule first, but it still underscores the consequences (i.e., not which action has the greatest utility, but which rule has).

No ethical theory is perfect, including utilitarianism. There are a variety of criticisms of utilitarianism. I, however, would like to touch on one of them: the theory's lack of concern with justice, including both social and distributive. Suppose reporter A uses an immoral means, say misrepresentation, to obtain a story, whereas reporter B gets the same story by means of conventional techniques. The two stories may produce identical results. An act-utilitarian would say that both reporters are equally ethical. But our common moral consciousness will tell us that B is right and A is wrong. Therefore, to some extent, act-utilitarianism is socially unjust. For distributive justice, I want to cite Frankena's (1973) argument as an example. Suppose we know the consequences (i.e., the balance of good over evil) of two persons following two rules, R1 and R2, requiring persons to act in identical ways in appropriate situations. Despite the fact that the rules may be identical, R1 gives all of the good to a relatively small group of people, while R2 spreads the good more equally over a larger part of the population. Hence, it seems that R1 is an unfair rule, and that R2 is morally preferable. If so, rule-utilitarianism is objectionable, at least in this sense (p.41).

One may argue that rule-utilitarianism is still a satisfactory moral theory for journalists to follow when deciding whether questionable news-gathering strategies should be used, because it advises them to consult the rules first before taking any actions. Yet, the concern is that whenever there is a conflict between two rules, we need to consider the principle of utility and choose the rule which produces the best outcome; since the rule system does not enjoy a certain hegemony, the principle of utility may always override any rules. Consequently, rule-utilitarianism is, in essence, end-oriented. And that is why some philosophers like David Lyons believe that act-utilitarianism and rule-utilitarianism are "extensionally equivalent" (Hardin, 1988, p.17).

To make this point clear, let's suppose two rules, "ought not to lie" and "ought to remove evil," are now being considered by a reporter who wants to uncover misconduct in the stock market. He can easily get the story if he uses deceptive tactics. If he instead applies conventional reporting methods, he will have little chance of getting the story, for it will be much more difficult for him to approach the sources than just acting deceitfully. Here, if the reporter is a rule-utilitarian, he may follow the rule "ought not to lie." However, after taking into consideration that the other rule, "ought to remove evil," is in fact a principle of utility, he may well change his mind and decide to deceive in order to achieve the best consequences, i.e., discover the misconduct and "remove evil" for the greatest general good in society. Is he justified in doing so? I think not. The reason is that deception is not the only way he can get the story. He should, at best, utilize conventional techniques to gather relevant information even if the chance of getting the story seems to be "little." In sum, as Rev. Francis R. Beattie (1885) put it, "In any case, it (utilitarianism) can only tell us what may probably be the *best thing* to do, but it can never declare authoritatively what we *ought* to do" (p.160).

In Search of Journalistic Rules

In spite of its high efficiency and dramatic results, undercover investigative reporting, in effect, began to decline in the 1980s, thanks partly to the exposure of the Watergate scandal, and partly to the revulsion against undercover reporting by the Pulitzer board after it decided not to give an award to the "Mirage" story in 1979. Many news executives and journalism leaders started to query if it is right to use deception and other "shady" methods to get news stories. Remember the witty remark given by Benjamin C. Bradlee of the *Washington Post,* who helped stop the Mirage reporting team from receiving the Pulitzer prize? "In a day in which we are spending thousands of man hours uncovering deception, we simply cannot deceive," he said. "How can newspapers fight for honesty and integrity when they themselves are less than honest in getting a story?" (Goodwin, 1987, pp. 136-141)

Undoubtedly, lots of journalists are turned off by deceiving people, and fewer and fewer depth investigations employ undercover methods these days. Even Zekman, assumed to be one of the most skillful investigative and undercover reporters in the business, believes that there are only four ethical ways to conduct undercover reporting:

First, don't do anything in an undercover capacity that would be breaking the law.

Second, make sure that in the undercover capacity you don't put yourself in a position where you are doing things for which you are not trained and where you may hurt somebody in the process.

Third, steer away from staying in the undercover capacity too long, and doing the very things that you end up criticizing the people you are investigating for.

Fourth, when ... involved in a situation where ... undercover work will cost people money, ... pay for their inconvenience or their services (Goodwin, 1987, pp.159-160).

Whether Zekman's opinions are fit for all undercover investigations is another story; they still give some guidelines to journalists to determine in what situations such tactics could be applied. Moreover, these guidelines appear to be relatively amoral, or "pragmatic," rather than ethical. At any rate, if reporters can think deeper whenever they want to act deceptively to gather their news, they move a step closer to what the public applauds. According to a 1981 Gallup Poll, of the four types of techniques the media sometimes use when they are doing investigative reporting, the lowest percentage of the respondents' approval was given to reporter misidentification (Goodwin, 1987, p.191). So, we can see how displeased people are when they find themselves being deceived.

As the use of covert means to uncover potential wrongdoings seems to be on the wane in American journalism, ethics, on the other hand, receives growing attention. More and more news organizations write their own codes of ethics, or adopt one from their parental corporations, or establish policy statements, which deal specifically with deception or undercover reporting. As such, both CBS News and NBC News remind their personnel that misrepresentations "should be avoided." ABC News cautions its reporters not to "disguise their identity or pose as someone with another occupation without the prior approval of ABC News management" (Goodwin, 1987, p.158).

Under the guidance of these occupational ethics codes, American journalists are more careful and more conscious of using deceptive ways to get their stories these days. They now realize the fact that they may have the duty to follow some moral rules, which guide them to behave ethically, when they try to obtain news information. They may suspect, if not totally give up, whether the doctrine, "the end always justifies the means," is an accurate moral judgment for them to justify their actions; or otherwise, whether there are any other *better* moral principles for them to adhere to. Because of such self-examination, today's journalists, in my opinion, are not strictly utilitarians; and utilitarianism is not an adequate moral theory for them to justify their behaviors.

Still, do I mean that journalists should *always* follow the rules and completely ignore the goals they are trying to pursue? Not necessarily. My view is that between the two extremes, the end-oriented approach and the rule-centered approach, there must be a compromise. As a matter of fact, almost all journalists disapprove of applying undercover reporting (or otherwise deception) for every story that comes along. However, they agree that there may be a few *special, rare,* and *extraordinary* circumstances in which the method may ethically be used.

In brief, when uncovering news stories, reporters should strictly obey such moral rules as "ought not to lie," "ought to keep your promises," and the like, to gather information unless the circumstance, along with *some unique criteria,* allows them to make use of deceit which itself can then be ethically justified. Should we relate such practice to any moral theory, I would like to introduce the "mixed deontological theory," which I think, if adopted, journalists would find very helpful in justifying their news-gathering behaviors.

Mixed deontological theory is an attempt by Frankena (1973, 1976) to reconcile two radically different types of moral theories —utilitarianism and deontological systems. It is basically deontological or rule-centered but in such a way as to take account of the teleological aspect of utilitarianism (Pojman, 1990, p.109). This theory, Frankena (1973) believes, would instruct us "to determine what is right and wrong in particular situations, normally at least, by consulting rules such as we usually associate with morality; but add that the way to tell what rules we should live by is to see which rules best fulfill the joint requirements of utility and justice (not, as in rule-utilitarianism, the requirements of utility alone" (p.44).

In place of the principle of utility, Frankena puts forth a near relative, the principle of beneficence, which includes four subprinciples: one ought not to inflict evil or harm; one ought to prevent evil or harm; one ought to remove evil; and one ought to do or promote good. Notwithstanding the fact that both the principle of beneficence and the principle of justice are *prima facie* (Latin for "at first glance") principles, the principle of justice enjoys a priority. All other duties can be derived from these two fundamental principles (Pojman, 1990, p.109). Admittedly, when talking about the principle of justice, Frankena concentrated on "equality" or "distributive justice"—justice in the distribution of good and evil, I nevertheless prefer extending the scope of the principle to include both social and distributive justice, as this seem to be more suitable for journalists. That means when journalists consult the principle of justice, they should take into account not just distributive justice, but social justice as well.

Frankena (1973) avows that because the theory recognizes two basic principles, "it must also face the problem of possible conflict between them," and "it may not be able to provide any formula saying when justice takes precedence and when it does not" (p.44). In solving this kind of ethical dilemma, he suggests using an intuitional approach—"perception" (p.53). For "perception," Frankena shares W. D. Ross's (1974) idea that normal human beings can have an awareness of moral values through intuition, which both discovers the right moral principles and applies them correctly. These moral principles are self-evident, and thus don't need to be justified by any kind of argument. Intuition is based on our conscience, and conscience is based on our knowledge and past experiences. So, if there is any conflict between the principle of justice and the principle of utility, intuition will tell us when the principle of utility overrules the principle of justice.

Yet, the concern is that since it is hard to prove that moral principles are self-evident and one's knowledge and past experiences differ from others, using our intuition may not be a completely satisfactory way to solve the problem. Instead I would recommend that justice should generally outweigh utility; only when the application of unethical means to achieve a good end can be justified (i.e., it *is* morally right, by passing a four-step test, which serves as "some unique criteria" for some *special*, *rare*, and *extraordinary* circumstances) does utility override justice.

A New Model for Deception

Before proposing my four-step test, let's first take a look at several similar justification models and get some insights from them. Veteran journalist Carl Hausman (1990) held that misrepresentation is considered forgivable if: "(a) it is the only way to get a story; (b) it harms no one; and (c) it is not an impossible contrivance" (p.101).

Deni Elliott (1985) developed a six-question method to help journalists decide if the information they are seeking is worth going undercover to get:

First, why do the readers need this information?

Second, would your readers support your information-gathering technique even if the story you hope to find isn't there?

Third, have you exhausted all other means for obtaining the information?

Fourth, what are your arguments against law enforcement officers doing this undercover work rather than reporters?

Fifth, does the reporter understand all of the risks of the assignment and has he/she been given the chance to turn the assignment down?

Sixth, if the problem is great enough for higher level deceptive practices, what changes are likely to occur through exposure? Is the potential change a great enough benefit to offset the certain damage created in the public trust?

Louis Hodges (1988) introduced three tests for justifying deceit; if the particular circumstance a proposed deceit does not pass all three, deceptive tactics are not morally justified:

First, the information sought must be of overriding public importance.

Second, there must be no reasonable likelihood that comparably accurate and reliable information could be obtained as efficiently through conventional investigative techniques.

Third, the deception contemplated must not place innocent people at serious risk. (pp.31-2)

Warren G. Bovee (1991) also set up six questions for journalists who want to use unethical means to achieve what they believe to be a worthy goal:

First, are the means really bad or morally evil?

Second, is the end really good?

Third, is it probable that the means will achieve the end?

Fourth, is the same good possible using other means?

Fifth, is the good end clearly and overwhelmingly greater than the bad means that will be used to attain it?

Sixth, will the action of employing bad means to achieve a good end withstand the test of publicity? (pp.137-143)

It seems to me that these justification models have much in common, and some of them are closely related to each other. So, what I am going to do is to restructure them in a more concise and compact way, and thus form my four-step test:

The first step of the test is that **journalists must make sure that the use of deception is the only way to get the story**. Otherwise, they should follow the moral rules and utilize conventional reportorial methods. "Preference always favors good means," wrote Bovee (1991, p.141). I agree.

Secondly, **the story must be of prime public importance, and the consequences of uncovering it will promote the greatest goodness or remove the greatest evil in society as a whole**; for instance, save one's life and protect the public from serious harm.

Third, **the deceitful means must be legal and won't hurt any innocent people, including reporters themselves; or put them at risk**. This, as Hodges (1988) put it, "would ordinarily rule out posing in a role the journalist could not reasonably fulfill. ... (such) as a doctor, police officer, or firefighter." (p.32)

Finally, **journalists must be honest about their deceptive methods**. They should explain to readers exactly what the methods are and why they use them because "little damage is done to public trust if newspapers report their tactics responsibly" (Braun, 1988, p.79). To quote Olen (1988), "Do not engage in any methods that you (journalists) are unwilling to open up to public scrutiny" (p.76).

I want to stress that this test should *only* be used when journalists tend to think that the principle of utility or beneficence might outweigh the principle of justice, and the employment of immoral tactics to gain information may be justified; otherwise, the moral rule system should be followed. And *only* when the attempt to use unethical means to get a story passes *all* four steps, can the decision to apply such means be justified.

Conclusion

Journalism is a truth-seeking as well as truth-telling business. For the sake of the profession and the public, journalists need to be believable and trustworthy. They must be very careful when they are engaged in using deception to get their news. Indeed, even though my discussion focuses primarily on deceit, other questionable information-gathering techniques like surreptitious taping and eavesdropping, I believe, should also be treated in the same way. In a few words, Frankena's mixed deontological theory together with the four-step test, I think, is an appropriate moral standard for not only American journalists, but all journalists in the world, including my colleagues in Hong Kong, to deal with most, if not all, of the ethical dilemmas arising when getting their stories.

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A TYPOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PUBLIC RELATIONS AND MARKETING

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A TYPOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PUBLIC RELATIONS AND MARKETING

Public relations scholars have devoted considerable attention recently to the issue of public relations' relationship to marketing. (See Ehling, White and Grunig, 1992; Broom, Lauzen and Tucker, 1991; Lauzen, 1991; Grunig and Grunig, 1991; Van Leuven, 1991; Spicer, 1991; Grunig and Grunig, 1989; L. Grunig, 1989; Ehling 1989; Broom and Tucker, 1989; Salmon, 1989. For contrasting practitioner perspectives, see McKenna, 1991; and Holmes, 1992.)

The question is timely in light of recent trends, notably the advent of "integrated marketing," the recession-driven downsizings, and the core restructuring taking place in many organizations. In short, many marketers, PR people and managers are now rethinking the traditional relationships between the disciplines.

In reviewing the debate, one cannot help but to sense a defensive or indignant tone, suggesting emotions ranging from paranoia to outright alarm. These studies are replete with terms such as "marketing imperialism" and "encroachment." Others plead -- almost beg -- for a clear separation of the disciplines.

The purpose of this paper is to argue the opposite point of view, or at least that maintenance of separation is a moot point. Its underlying premise is that marketing and public relations are distinct but closely aligned disciplines that are being called upon to work together with increased frequency. Indeed, as Broom and Tucker (1989) suggest, marketing and public relations represent a "double helix." Ultimately, the marketplace will arbitrate how marketing and public relations will relate.

Scholars concerned with the issue would do well to abandon normative approaches and to focus on developing a better understanding of how public relations and marketing work together. Toward that goal, this paper suggests a model for examining alternative relationships that exist between the two functions in organizations. It also outlines some key issues that drive the dynamics between the two disciplines.

Marketing and Public Relations: Conceptual Allies

Among the various management disciplines, no two specialties are more closely aligned than marketing and public relations -- a fact that has been virtually overlooked in the recent debate.

Analogies are often cited between public relations and various professions. For example, public relations practitioners are said to represent clients in the "court of public opinion." Ivy Lee was fond of references to practitioners as "physicians to corporate bodies" (Hiebert, 1966:297). Yet the fact remains that public relations is more akin to marketing than any other discipline. As Kotler and Mindak (1978) note, marketing and public relations are the major external functions of an organization.

Although many definitions of public relations and marketing exist[1], there is general concurrence that the core concept of marketing involves an *exchange* relationship (Bagozzi, 1975). Hunt (1976:25) points out that in its broadest definition, marketing can be interpreted to involve any form of exchange of values between parties. (Marketing theorists abandoned the commercial context of their work two decades ago; many critics overlook this fact.)

The similarity in approaches is clearest when marketing's exchange emphasis is juxtaposed to the relationship emphasis at the heart of public relations practice. For example, Cutlip, Center and Broom (1985:4) define PR as "the management function that identifies, establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between and organization and the various publics on whom its success or failure depends." It could be argued that relationship maintenance is, in essence, the conceptual equivalent of exchange of values.

The divergence in nomenclature that separates the two disciplines is essentially the result of the independent genesis and development of the fields. Yet the core concepts are parallel. Marketers deal with markets; PR practitioners focus on publics. Marketers segment markets; PR practitioners identify or specify publics. Marketers conduct campaigns; PR practitioners organize programs. Both are organized activities to influence beliefs, attitudes or behaviors that utilize situation analyses or research. Both employ written plans with stated objectives, strategies, and tactics. Both operate in client-driven environments, must propose their plans and budgets for approval, and attempt to evaluate results with some precision.

The overlap that has evolved in the past decades is not the result of deliberate efforts by marketers to usurp public relations' domain. Instead, one finds that marketers have found themselves dealing helter-skelter with problems and approaches that, in sum, appear as encroachment.

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[1] Two acceptable definitions differentiating marketing and public relations resulted from a 1989 symposium at San Diego State University, cited in Broom, Lauzen and Tucker (1991:223):

> "Marketing is the management process whose goal is to attract and satisfy customers (or clients) on a long-term basis in order to achieve an organization's economic objectives. Its fundamental responsibility is to build and maintain a market for an organization's products or services.

> "Public relations is the management process whose goal is to attain and maintain accord and positive behaviors among social groups on which an organization depends in order to achieve its mission. Its fundamental responsibility is to build and maintain a hospitable environment for an organization."

In the late 1960s, Kotler and Levy (1969a, 1969b; see also Lusk, 1969) were the first to redefine marketing by applying many of the basic principles of marketing for for-profit organizations to not-for-profit organizations, once the promotional province of public relations. *Social marketing* was readily adopted -- as quickly as public relations had been adopted earlier -- because the managers of these organizations (not marketers) saw that these principles made sense in helping their organizations attain their stated goals. (See also Kotler and Zaltman 1971; Rothschild, 1979; Bloom and Novelli, 1981; Kotler and Andreasen, 1991).

In the 1970s, marketers found themselves having to deal with issues in the environments in which they operated but which they considered incidental to marketing's mission, such as pollution. Not all marketing scholars believed that such problems were in their province (Stidsen and Schutte, 1972), but marketing practitioners were forced to accommodate them in their planning. In the same way, marketers became vulnerable to consumerist protests and boycotts, intensified product regulation, and product recalls (Goldman, 1984).

In the 1980s, new directions found marketers heavily involved in affinity programs, sports sponsorships and cause-related marketing -- all once secondary promotional activities relegated to PR. These had become mainline marketing strategies (Varadarajian and Menon, 1988; Smith and Alcorn, 1991). Marketing researchers also began to recognize the degree to which the field had to be aware and involved in its external or political environments (Zeithaml and Zeithaml, 1984; Hutt, Mokwa and Shapiro, 1986; Kotler, 1986; Peace, 1987).

In the 1990s, issues driving the overlap have included the increased use of integrated marketing (Novelli, 1989-90; Harris, 1991; McKenna, 1991) and the acknowledgement of the limitations of advertising and the substitute use of PR, sales promotion and distribution as alternatives in product introductions (Hastings, 1990; Dilenschneider, 1991).

Instead of conspiracy, a better explanation is that the society in general -- and marketers in particular -- have become more sensitive to issues that public relations professionals have been dealing with for years. One indication that encroachment was not a driving force is the fact that American marketing scholars, with the possible exception of Philip Kotler,[2] have virtually ignored the role of public relations in marketing.[3] (For a recent British study, see Kitchen and Proctor, 1991.) In a similar way, while many visionary marketers recognize the potential value of public relations, others want nothing to do with a field in which they have little experience or understanding.

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[2] Kotler's emphasis on public relations can be described as something just short of a crusade. His boldest suggestion was to position "public relations" (not product publicity) as one of two new P's in a *megamarketing* mix (Kotler, 1986).

Rhetoric Based on Stereotypes

The recent debate has been fostered by the assumption that marketing and public relations naturally are at odds, a notion that has been perpetuated by reports of competition (Kotler and Andreasen, 1991), sharp commentaries about marketing in PR textbooks (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 1985; Wilcox, Ault and Agee, 1992; Newsom, Scott and Van Slyke Turk, 1989), and egregious stereotyping.

References to encroachment can be traced back to Pimlott's classic study of public relations in America. He cites Holcombe Parkes, public relations vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers, who lamented to a group of public relations executives in 1948, that "the lawyers, accountants, the personnel boys frequently view public relations activities with alarm and [use their positions to] veto with what seems to be fiendish glee." About the tensions between marketers and PR people, Pimlott observed:

> Advertising men resent the encroachment of their public relations kinsmen upon provinces they regard as their own; public relations men look with disfavor upon the public relations departments which advertising agencies are increasingly setting up. The rivalry is particularly acute in organizations which place advertising under public relations or vice versa. (Pimlott, 1951:241)

Two decades later, evidence of the schism remained. Britt, a pioneering marketing scholar, noted (1966:6):

> Both marketing and public relations deal with communications. But in most business firms what do we find? We find a house divided by against itself; the communications part of the house, that is.
>
> The two functions of marketing and public relations impinge on each other--yes, logically. But psychologically, they do not. How can you unite two functions in each other if they have only a nodding acquaintance,and sometimes not even that? One of the reasons that two areas do not pay much attention to each other is that both functions are so ego-involved.

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[3] For a recent British study, see Kitchen and Proctor, 1991.

> Each group alternatively shouts to the world how wonderful it is, and at the same time talks to itself about how poorly treated it is and how no one in top management really appreciates it.

In a similar vein, Kotler and Mindak (1978:13) wrote:

> Where does marketing end and public relations begin? Where does public relations end and public affairs begin? The increasingly fuzzy boundaries have led to conflict among them. Usually they choose to operate independently with little teamwork or to bicker over resources and strategies.

Stereotyping of public relations people by marketers is exemplified by Kotler's remarks, cited in Broom, Lauzen and Tucker (1991:225):

> My experience is that marketing people are trained to think in business terms -- bottom line -- and are quantitative. Public relations people by and large come out as journalists and are interested in harmonized relations with various groups. Once we know what both functions are about, maybe we will see they are perfect partners.

Wind (1985:246-7), in one of the rare descriptions of the relationship with PR that can be found in the marketing literature,

takes a similar swipe:

> Although conceptually public relations is often included as one of the marketing functions, in most firms public relations is not part of marketing. Such detachment of public relations from marketing can lead to a number of undesirable consequences resulting from the lack of coordination of the P.R. and the firm's marketing strategies. This coordination of marketing and public relations is especially crucial in today's environment in which the survival and growth of a firm does not depend only on its customers but on numerous stakeholders. The impact [that] stakeholders such as government suppliers, consumers and environmental interest groups, members of the financial community and the mass media might have on the success of the firm's operations calls for a directed marketing effort aimed at all of them. Splitting this effort between marketing and public relations, if the divisions are not clearly defined and the activities coordinated, could lead to a disastrous outcome.
>
> The design of marketing/public relations stakeholder strategies requires considerable input on the needs, problems and expectations of the various stakeholders. Since public relations managers often lack a research

> orientation and competence, one of the most effective ways of introduce a more research oriented public relations decision making process is to link it closely with marketing, and marketing research.

To suggest that marketers alone engage in such stereotyping, consider these comments by a leading practitioner. Thurston (1983:213) opines:

> The outstanding marketing people--and there are many of them--are alert to the whole spectrum of changing attitudes of the general public. It is part of their job, just as it is part of the public relations job, to be on top of this. Beyond that point, however, there is a fundamental difference between what the two functions must do: Marketing has a direct profit responsibility and cannot be expected to consider the public interest as its primary concern. Public relations, on the other hand, has no direct profit responsibility, but should have the specific responsibility for assuring that the company is operating in a way that will avoid trouble and, in the context of the public interest, promise the opportunity for long-term growth and prosperity. Thus the roles are quite different.

Within the context of the current debate, Ehling, White and Grunig (1992) argue that the primary goal of marketers is to "maintain a positive slope of the demand curve." They seem to suggest that marketers do so with reckless disregard for the consequences, and that marketers have no concern for "maximizing cooperation over conflict or the reconciliation of disputes." Elsewhere they write:

> All too often, marketing practices, whether well-intentioned or not, are responsible for invigorating or sustaining consumerism. ... Paradoxically, the problems associated with consumerism that grow out of many marketing practices are the very problems that cannot be solved directly by the thinking, methods and techniques employed by contemporary marketing management. Moreover, the resolution of conflict and the mediation of disputes is essentially a public relations concern and not a concern of marketing; hence, to the extent that marketing activity intensifies consumerism, the more public relations managers must be called upon to undo what marketing overdoes.

These comments have one thing in common: each side sells the other side short. However, a thoughtful analysis of the possible relationships suggests:

-- There are many knowledgeable public relations practitioners whose competence and expertise in research and other fields match those of any marketer. This fact is proven by the fact that a growing number of marketing directors for organizations come out of public relations, although the field continues to be dominated by those whose experience was primarily in sales force management, advertising, product management or research.

-- There are many socially conscious and politically savvy marketing directors who are keenly aware of the organizational, political, social, and economic implications of their work. They perceive their goals not simply as increasing demand, but to help attain the organization's long-term objectives. And, they fully understand that there are certain prices that the organization cannot -- and will not -- pay for success.

In the end, the real question that should be of concern to public relations and marketers alike is whether the organization is getting the proper balance of marketing and public relations expertise. The organizational or reporting relationships are secondary. An organization that does not accomplish its goals can't survive. Meanwhile, an organization won't survive that accomplishes its goals in a way that is counter-productive.

Reformulating the Question

To date, the debate over marketing's relationship with marketing has been framed in dichotomous terms. For example, Britt (1966) asked, "Should Public Relations Take Over Marketing--Or Vice Versa?"

Kotler and Mindak (1978), in providing the only published model in the literature, posed a similar simplistic question: "Marketing and Public Relations: Should They Be Partners or Rivals?" They posit five alternative views of the relationship, which are reprinted as Figure 1. They suggested that possible relationships were:

-- Separate but equal
-- Equal but overlapping
-- Marketing as the dominant function
-- Public relations the dominant function
-- Marketing and public relations as the same function.

Although Kotler and Mindak's model offers parsimony, it is superficial and does not address factors that drive the dynamics of relationships between the two disciplines. Similarly, the authors acknowledge that no one model will be appropriate for all enterprises (1978:13).

Models of the Possible Relationship Between Marketing and Public Relations

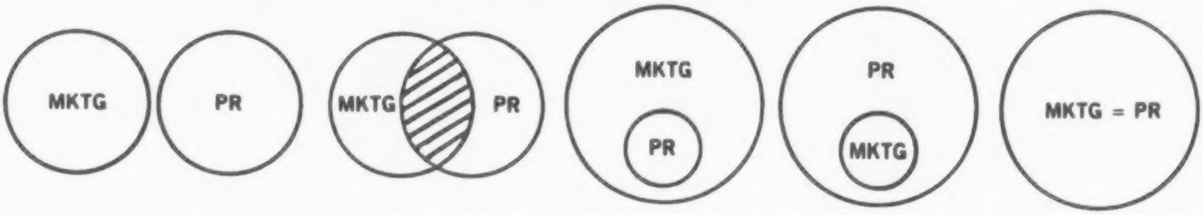


Figure 1

As an alternative, the relationships of marketing and public relations within an organization might better be understood in the context of the typology shown in Figure 2. It suggests that the issue is more complex, and that at least six distinct situations might exist posing different organizational relationships. These six relational states can be termed the 6 Cs:

Celibacy. Kotler and Mindak's model failed to consider a common occurrence: only one of the two functions exists in an organization. Traditionally, public relations would be found in a not-for-profit organization, while marketing would more likely be found in a for-profit organization (Kotler and Andreasen, 1991). However, that contrast is changing.

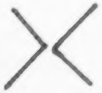
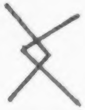
In a Celibate situation, the expertise of the other discipline is totally or sorely lacking, often to the detriment of the organization. In such cases, marketers without public relations training are "pinch-hitting," or vice versa. In this situation, Kotler and Mindak's Marketing=Public Relations description is misapplied.

Co-Existence. This probably the most prevalent situation, especially in established, traditional firms where the distinctions between marketing and public relations have been firmly established. The two units operate independently with little interaction, similar to the standoff described by Britt. Marketing deals with product development, market research, advertising and promotion, and sales force management. Public relations concerns itself with functions related to media, employee, investor, community and government relations.

Combative. In a limited, but all too frequent, number of situations, the marketing and public relations functions are adversaries, competing either for managerial attention or resources, or both. These include staff or budget that one or both managers believes would be better spent in their area. This might be a dysfunctional situation that limits effectivness, or could be a motivator for one unit to take action. Nevertheless, it is not

Figure 2

MARKETING AND PUBLIC RELATIONS: A TYPOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

MODEL	SYNERGY BETWEEN MARKETING/PR EXPERTISE	MANAGEMENT REPORTING	COST-BENEFIT/ RESOURCE UTILIZATION	TYPICALLY FOUND IN
CELIBATE Only one of functions exists; vamps in absence of other.	None	Single	Low cost, but possibly not meeting needs	New, small organizations. Nonprofits usually PR only; for-profits usually marketing only.
COEXISTENT Two functions operate independently.	None	Dual and uncoordinated	Potentially duplicative	Traditional firms, espec-if functions established and synergy not promoted.
 **COMBATIVE** Two functions at odds.	None or dysfunctional	Dual and competitive	Potentially costly; no sharing of resources	Emerging companies where turf is "up for grabs." Also cultures where competition condoned.
 **CO-OPTIVE** One function usurps other.	Limited and often dysfunctional	Dual and competitive	Resources sometimes shared, often at force.	Competitive culture where one function (often PR) is weak.
COORDINATED Two functions independent, but work closely together.	Considerable, highly functional	Dual but often coordinated	Resources sometimes shared; very efficient.	Organizations where both functions recognized and and strong and value of synergy recognized.
COMBINED Two functions operate within single unit.	Maximum	Single	Maximum efficiency	Both functions highly regarded, maximum synergy desired goal.

equivalent to Kotler and Mindak's separate-but-equal posture (which suggests peaceful co-existence) or their dominance alternative in which one function is subsumed by the other.

Co-Optive. In some cases, the combative situation results in one of the units being engaged in predatory behavior, often when the encroached unit is in a weak position because of management deficiencies, scarcity of resources, or division of duties. Combative and co-optive situations can be found in organizations where relationships between the functions have not been established, which is often the case in emerging organizations. However, such dysfunction can also be found within corporate cultures where competition is condoned or even encouraged.

Cooperative. In a organization where the marketing and public relations functions are well developed and recognized, the two functions can exist independently, but work closely with one another to meet joint goals. This is the true "separate but equal" arrangement.

Combined. In the most parsimonious arrangement, similar to Kotler and Mindak's Marketing=Public Relations alternative, the two units operate together. Generally, public relations staff is a part of marketing, on a par with product development, research, branch management, advertising and sales promotion. In this case, the chief marketing officer might also serve as the chief public relations officer, or vice versa.

Effectiveness: The Real Issue

Implicit in this approach is the need to focus on the relationship that exists between marketing and public relations, and how the effectiveness of the two functions is affected.

This premise challenges the proposition by Ehling, White and Grunig (1992) in the Excellence in Public Relations and Communications Management initiative. They argue, "The public relations function of excellent organizations exists separately from the marketing function, and excellent public relations departments are not subsumed into the marketing function."

Indeed, public relations can operate effectively in the Combined situation, where, in fact, if the mutual support of marketing could facilitate the adoption of sound public relations policies and practices. On the other hand, the effectiveness of an independent public relations function is not guaranteed, particularly if PR finds itself in a Combative or Co-optive environment. And effectiveness could be less than optimal in merely Celibate, Co-Existent or Cooperative situations.

In developing the model, the author posits that three factors drive the dynamics between marketing and public relations within an organization. These also provide useful benchmarks to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the alternative arrangements. The key factor is the potential for programmatic synergy between marketing and public relations expertise. Secondary are the nature of the functions' management reporting, and cost-benefit concerns.

Potential for Synergy. Synergy, by definition, involves gaining greater results when two forces work together than otherwise would be achieved by working independently. Although various operationalizations of the concept are possible, and synergy between marketing and public relations can take many forms, the essence is that effects are multiplicative, not merely additive.

The Cooperative and Combined organizational schemes provide the maximum potential to take advantage of the expertise of both disciplines. The potential for synergy is absent in the case of a Celibate organization, while the lack of interaction in the Co-Existent models makes it difficult to take advantage of such opportunities. In both the Combative and Co-Optive scenarios, the willingness to cooperate is diminished.

Management Reporting. Streamlined reporting has become an increased priority, particularly as organizations seek to foster quality and consolidation. Lauzen (1991) noted the "domain similarity" that is perceived to exist between the two fields, while Broom and Tucker (1989) note that managers in many organizations believe that marketing and public relations are "simply different techniques for achieving the same end." As such, it can be expected that managements will drift toward combining similar functions.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that public relations units, at least within corporate settings, are being absorbed with greater frequency than ever before. If the function does not remain independent, the dilemma confronting practitioners is whether it would be preferable to be linked with marketing, where the fields at least share similar problem-solving approaches. Or, would it be preferable to align with areas where there are certain substantive interests, but the cultural environments and problem-solving approaches are quite different? These options include legal (which usually is concerned with government relations), finance (which most always is involved with investor relations) and human resources (which often vigilantly oversees employee issues).

The advantage of the Combined organization lies in the single reporting relationship to management: marketing and public relations speak with one voice. In an organization striving for greater synergy between the two functions, a single reporting relationship is valuable -- by reducing potential conflict, misunderstanding or deliberate subterfuge. It also allows for more integrated planning and approval processes -- potential problems when marketing and public relations report independently, whether to the same executive manager or not.

Cost Benefits. With the increased recognition of the similarities between the two functions, and the clear trend toward consolidation, a separate but related driving force within organizations deals with the reduction of expenses. This involves not so much the elimination of program expenses, but the greater efficiencies made possible by reductions in support staff and office occupancy expenses through the sharing of resources.

Spicer's (1991) study of the comparative use of traditionally defined public relations communications skills found perceived encroachment by marketing practitioners was not as severe as often thought. Indeed, public relations practitioners were more likely to engage in marketing communications activities than vice versa.

The attractiveness of the Celibate structure is its low-expense nature. However, if in-depth marketing and public relations expertise is needed, doing with one but not the other might be a false savings. The existence of separate marketing and public relations create certain duplications, which might result in higher costs to an organization. The Combined structure offers the greatest opportunity for sharing of resources and cost reduction. However, cost savings are contingent upon demonstration that both functions can be performed under the Combined organization. In particular, an effective Combined structure is one in which adequate resources are devoted to having the caliber of public relations expertise that is needed and permitting that voice to be heard.

Potential Implications

This model provides a useful basis for the future examination of the functional and organizational relationships between marketing and public relations.

A critical issue -- one which that has confounded the recent debate and which must be clearly delineated -- is to distinguish between the two disciplines within an organization functionally and organizationally. The author believes that this model could apply to both, but empirically it is essential to differentiate whether the unit of study is public relations activity or public relations departments.

As has been noted, it is entirely possible for an organization to operate without a formal public relations structure yet to exhibit considerable public relations acumen. A central problem we must focus on is the degree to which organizational structure leads to effectiveness of function, particularly in a field as notoriously fragmented as public relations.

Only scant literature exists in the marketing field that deals with marketing's relationship with other operating units -- a shortcoming that has been recognized (Wind, 1981; Reukert, Walker and Roering, 1985; Reukert and Walker, 1987). However, a sizeable body of knowledge from the administrative sciences can provide valuable clues (as overviews, see Astley and Van de Ven, 1983; and Hambrick, 1981).

Much of the research to date on public relations' relationship to marketing has been based on models not developed to address this question. For example, Schneider (aka L. Grunig, 1985 and 1991) applies the Hage and Huge model of organizational development, which deals primarily with organizational scale and complexity. Alternatively, J. Grunig (1989 and others) focuses on organizational issues from the perspective of his four-part model of public relations practice.

The approach in this paper suggests that the analysis of the relationship between public relations and marketing can only be approached within the context of relationships that actually exist within an organization. Indeed, if relationship is the focus of study, the question must be posed in relational terms, although other organizational factors could obviously intervene. This typology attempts to encompass most situations that might be found.

Beyond providing a useful comparison between alternate contexts, this typology is also potentially useful as a framework for examining more general questions related to the relationship of these two disciplines. For example:

Studying Celibate organizations provides a context to explore the substitutability of marketing for public relations, or vice versa. What are the problems these types of organizations face -- and that cannot be addressed effectively by one function without the assistance of the other? Studying Celibate organizations also permits us to better understand the situations in which marketers recognize the need to recruit public relations assistance. A third question is how the use of outside counsel, as a proxy for in-house expertise, prepares an organization to establish its own in-house capability or choose to operate without it.

Studying Co-Existent and Cooperative organizations allows examination of exactly how the two functions can work together to create synergy. It can be argued that Co-Existent organizations operate in independent or uncoordinated manners, while Cooperative organizations work in either complementary or synergistic ways. How, exactly, does this interaction take place in these kinds of operating environments? To what extent does synergy improve overall effectiveness?

Studying Combative or Co-Optive functions provides a forum for analyzing the specific problems of encroachment and imperialism -- and their effect on performance. Do these harm effectiveness, or are there really benefits to such situations? Harris (1991) distinguishes between marketing public relations and corporate public relations as separate functions, and de facto sets up an Co-optive environment. Can marketing public relations functions operate successfully independent of the corporate public relations function? If so, the problems of encroachment and imperialism might be moot points.

Studying Combined organizations allows us to examine specifically the question of whether marketing and public relations executives can perform dual roles. If so, managers, marketers and public relations practitioners alike might like to examine the benefits of such a structure in light of current trends and the benefits of program synergy, streamlined reporting and cost reductions. Such a partnership might actually provide opportunities for public relations' influence to expand.

In the future, the author intends to examine more fully the dynamics of this working relationship between marketing and public relations. Four preliminary propositions will direct that work:

P1: Shortcomings in the Celibate and Co-Existent structures, notably the recognition of the need for both skill sets and the value of synergy, will lead organizations to abandon these structures.

P2: Dysfunction resulting from Combative or Co-Optive relations will prompt organizations to move toward Cooperative or Combined structures.

P3: Organizations that recognize the value of both the marketing and public relations functions will move toward Cooperative or Combined structures.

P4: Organizations will abandon the Cooperative structure in favor of the Combined alternative as concerns about streamlined reporting and cost containment increase in prominence.

Although not advocating the integration of the marketing and public relations functions, the author believes that the pressure to merge the marketing and public relations functions will accelerate in the coming years, based on the domain similarity problem and the recognition by management of the issues of program synergy, streamlined reporting and cost containment.

In the final analysis, we should be less preoccupied with the prestige, pride and preservation of public relations as a distinct unit and more concerned with studying how public relations is actually practiced and alternatively can be organized to best help organizations achieve public relations goals. If this might involve the further integration of marketing and public relations, so be it.

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THE PARADIGMS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS:

TREADING BEYOND THE FOUR-STEP PROCESS

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THE PARADIGMS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS:

TREADING BEYOND THE FOUR-STEP PROCESS

For more than three decades, students have been indoctrinated in the four-step process of the public relations practice.

Scott Cutlip and Allen Center introduced the concept of public relations as a *process* in the first edition of their classic textbook forty years ago this year.[1] Then, they suggested that public relations practice involved orderly steps of fact-finding, planning, and communicating.

The fourth element, evaluation, did not come along until the second edition in 1958. John Marston suggested the alternate R-A-C-E (Research-Action-Communication-Evaluation) formula in 1963.[2] And subsequently, numerous permutations and acronyms have been spawned:

R-P-C-E	(Research, Planning, Communication, Evaluation)[3]
D-PP-AC-E	(Defining the Problem, Planning and Programming, Action and Communicating, Evaluation)[4]
F-PP-AC-E	(Fact-Finding, Planning and Programming, Action and Communication, Evaluation)[5]
R-O-P-E	(Research, Objectives, Programming, Evaluation),[6] and
R-P-I-E	(Research, Planning, Implementation, Evaluation).

The idea of examining public relations as *process* has served students and professionals well:

-- Its multi-faceted nature emphasizes the critical fact that professional public relations involves more than communicating. (Some contend that the essence of effective public relations lies in research and planning.)

-- The emphasis on *process* underscores the critical role of feedback and the need to make adjustments in program, strategy or research as a program proceeds.

-- The divisible nature of process models makes its it easy to delineate facets of public relations work, and thus facilitates both teaching and learning.

Still a Useful Approach?

Treating public relations as a *process,* regardless of the specific model, is not without shortcomings:

-- The genesis of public relations problems and opportunities is generally omitted from process models, either in terms of the problem itself or the recognition of the problem by practitioners.

-- A neat time-order is implied. However, in practice, the steps are often simultaneous, especially fact-finding and planning. Although conceptually logical, experience falsifies the premise.

-- Specificity about each of the steps is lacking. The tinkering that has occurred in renaming these steps illustrates the problem. In addition, the various components subsumed within each of these steps are not readily evident.

-- Finally, a process model with only four steps might be overly simplistic. The problem here is not so much the concept itself (parsimony is virtue in any model), but the tendency to reduce an increasingly sophisticated and complex professional endeavor to mere formula.

The Paradigm Perplex

My concern with the four-step process is rooted in this last issue and the fact that it has become, by default, the predominant paradigm of public relations. The four-step process comes the closest of any other concept in our field to providing a unifying perspective on the field.

I don't call for abandonment of the idea. The four-step process is a fixture in the profession. Students need to know the concept -- and the lingo. Yet, practitioners and educators alike must mull the question whether its prevalence has thwarted the much-needed critical thinking that is necessary for our field to advance?

Have we been sedated--if not seduced --by the four-step process? All too many students and practitioners have been lulled into thinking they have conquered the theoretical basics of the field, when, in fact, they have barely scratched the conceptual surface.

No where are the risks of this mindless reductionism more evident than in the way that the Public Relations Society of America, the leading professional association, has institutionalized the four-step process. PRSA has incorporated the four steps in its accreditation, public education and awards programs. PRSA's Silver Anvil and Bateman Student Case Study Competitions, for example, entail rigorous scoring which assign (arbitrary) weights to each step in the process. In a similar way, judging criteria for many local chapter programs hammer on these criteria.

Reliance on this kind of heuristic is fine -- but does the field need, and deserve, more? I can think of no other profession that would tolerate a similar cookbook mentality. For how long should the profession perpetuate such intellectual simplisticness?

I believe that the time is coming when the field is going to have to reckon with the most fundamental question that confronts the profession in general and public relations education in particular: defining a predominant paradigm of public relations. Clearly, the four-step process, at least as presently constituted, is not adequate.

Paradigms in Science

Thomas S. Kuhn, writing in his classic The Structure of Scientific Revolutions[7], defines a *paradigm* as a model or pattern of thinking about and studying a problem.

Kuhn contends that major breakthroughs in science are not the result of mere incremental discoveries of new facts. Instead, they stem from defining a problem in a whole new way, often discarding previously standard beliefs and procedures and replacing those components of the previous paradigm with others. This includes development of totally different methodologies to study the same problem. A case in point: quantum mechanics' displacement of Newtonian physics.

Kuhn suggests that no paradigm in science is perfect: The fact that certain discoveries or facts (he calls them anomalies) do not fit doesn't invalidate the value of a paradigm. However, the accumulation of anomalies over time can lead to recognition of the shortcomings of an existing paradigm, and thus lead to a crisis that can precipitate the discovery of new paradigms.

Kuhn suggests that new models do not necessarily bring us any closer to truth. However, a new a paradigm provides a new unifying perspective from which the field can advance knowledge.

The paradigm struggle facing public relations is rooted, in part, in the lack of consensus as to what constitutes public relations and the diversity of practice itself. Educators and practitioners are schizophrenic: We alternatively address PR as a managerial-, journalistic- and communications theory-driven endeavor.

Kuhn expresses doubt whether any social science can be inherently paradigmatic. And if public relations is an applied social science, the question is even more problematic. However, striving to define potential alternative paradigms of public relations is nevertheless useful and critical.

Alternative Paradigms of Public Relations

In examining public relations today, at least seven paradigms can be identified. Others are undoubtedly possible. (See figure.)

At first glance, these alternative views of the field involve elements that are deceptively familiar to practitioners and educators. Yet upon closer contemplation, it becomes clear that these represent the kernels of entirely different perspectives from which we might understand and teach public relations. Implicit are different assumptions, levels and units of analysis, and research questions and methodologies.

Process Paradigm. While the classic four-step process is being challenged, there is nothing to suggest that public relations as *process* is necessarily invalid. Yet, other process models, with fewer or more steps, might provide better fitting explanations or be applicable to specific aspects of public relations work.

For example, W. Howard Chase outlined a four-step process for issues management, which incorporated issues identification but declined evaluation. Thus, one approach to our paradigm dilemma would be to refine the four-step process.

Plan or Program Paradigm. An alternative is to abandon the idea of process altogether, and to focus on the strategies and tactics of public relations work. Hainsworth and Wilson recently attempted to reconcile the process and program approaches, in an article that underscores the problem.[8]

While we talk about PR as a process, most activities are executed as part of programs or campaigns with written plans. Such an approach might have the added benefit of bringing public relations closer in its conceptualization with other communications disciplines, such as advertising. In advertising, for example, the campaign represents the primary professional paradigm.

Communication/Practice Style Paradigm. Alternatively, public relations practice might be examined more effectively within the context of communication theories, including rhetorical or critical approaches. Grunig's (1984) four models of public relations is an illustration. He suggests that to the degree that programs achieve two-way symmetrical communication, they can be considered most effective.

Organizational/Managerial Effectiveness Paradigm. While the style paradigm suggested above largely involves interactions between the public relations and the public it attempts to reach, public relations can also be examined within the context how it relates to the organization it serves, whether within a formal corporate-setting or more informal structure, such as a social movement. Success in public relations could be measured primarily in terms of effectiveness in reaching organizational goals or of establishing effective working relationships within the organizational or group context.

Behavioral Paradigm. Such an approach, drawing on the growing literatures of psychology, marketing and consumer behavior, would suggest that the most appropriate measure to examine public relations efforts is at the level of the individual or target groups. Marketing research measures might be used to predict behavior, but effects would only be measured in terms of success in influencing beliefs, attitudes or behaviors.

Social Problems Paradigm. This approach assumes that public relations problems and opportunities are inherently political and sociological in nature, and suggests that public relations be studied and performance be evaluated in terms of how PR practitioners respond to changing situations in society as a whole. Such an approach would be consistent with the public opinion-oriented approach to public relations and can be especially useful in the context of PR's role in public policy making, particularly power struggles between competing interest groups as well as constructionist approaches to social problems.

Systems Paradigm. As more theoretical alternative to the organizational/managerial or social problems paradigms, public relations practice can be viewed from a systems perspective. The practice thus involves a series of inputs (both internal and external) and outputs (actions and communications) which are designed to reduce conflicts and build consensus between an organization and its publics. To the degree that the practitioner strikes a good balance between the two, success in public relations can be achieved.

Implications for the Field

The purpose of this paper is not to advocate one paradigm over another. While none of these alternative paradigms are perfect, and details of each of these could be expanded upon, the main point is that the public relations practice and can be examined from many more perspectives.

If the field as a whole is to advance, we need to examine this the paradigm question carefully and to encourage more discussion about alternative paradigmatic approaches. Educators can play a pivotal role in this process -- as researchers directly involved in theory development and testing and as teachers.

From the research perspective, we need to enrich the development of each of these alternative approaches by extending extant models and developing new ones. Only by developing a sufficient body of theoretical knowledge within each approach will a predominant paradigm emerge.

Implicit in this issue is the core issue of a distinct body of knowledge and distinct methodologies that would separate public relations from other fields. Thus, it holds the key as to whether public relations is ever to establish itself as a distinct discipline.

More importantly, the paradigm issue strikes at the heart of measuring and interpreting public relations results. These different paradigms suggest different questions to ask, not to mention different answers that would be applicable.

To illustrate, consider these seven questions that practitioners ask about the success of a program under these different paradigms:

Process: Were all the steps followed: research, planning, communication, evaluation?
Plan/Program: Was the campaign on the mark and executed well in terms of the situation analysis, objectives, strategies and tactics?
Communication/Practice Style: Did the effort incorporate accepted principles of effective communication?
Organizational/Managerial: Was the effort well received within the organization?
Behavioral: Did the desired change take place in attitudes, beliefs or behaviors?
Social Problems: Was the conflict or political problem averted or resolved satisfactorily?
Systems: Was an equilibrium maintained?

Depending on the paradigm, the answer could be affirmative in all seven cases -- but the questions asked and the methodologies used to arrive at those answers would be different.

Implications for Teaching

Without a dominant paradigm, it is difficult to prepare students for careers and to provide them with a coherent framework to understand the field.

Most teachers of public relations now introduce students to smatterings of these different approaches. On the one hand, it could be argued that this enriches learning by exposing students to different paradigms. However, educators also must ask whether this eclectic approach crosses the line into jumbled incoherence and confusion?

One of the recurring themes in my class is that there are many ways to evaluate public relations success; practitioners need to define for themselves -- and often for clients -- the basis upon which their success will be measured.

We cannot effectively teach a core public relations curriculum, particularly at the undergraduate level, unless there is greater consensus in the field as a whole as to the framework in which public relations should be executed and evaluated.

Without this consensus, it is difficult to match educational efforts to need, and to make sure that we are equipping students with the conceptual and methodological tools they need. This dilemma is obviously compounded by the limits set on the number of courses and class hours students can attend.

In the intermediate term, we should continue to teach elements of public relations from the alternative perspectives of process, plan, communication/practice style, organizational/managerial, behavioral, social problems and systems theory. Until we can come to grips with the paradigm problem, we need to point out these alternative approaches, emphasize their relative strengths and weaknesses, and encourage our students to think critically about the problem. We need to expose them to other specialities that will help them gain insights on their profession's paradigmatic plight.

Kuhn suggests that a crisis precedes the emergence of a new paradigm in the sciences. While it would be premature (if not pretentious) to suggest that public relations is anywhere near such a liminal state, the value of a prominent paradigm is clear.

As educators, we must start to encourage practitioners -- through research, publication, service and outright lobbying -- to abandon simplistic formulae and to strive toward higher-level discussions of more paradigmatic issues.

While we can expect to accomplish some progress over time through the output of new students, I believe that we must jump-start the process. To the degree that we can precipitate a paradigm crisis in public relations, we as educators will have done our jobs.

Alternative Public Relations Paradigms

Paradigm	Exemplar(s)	Orientation	Level/Unit of Analysis
Process Examines public relations as a series of steps, often as a continuous cycle	Classic Four-Step Process . Research . Planning . Communication . Evaluation Chase's Issues Management Model:[9] . Issue identification . Issue analysis . Change strategy options . Issue action programming	Professional	Actions
Plan or Program Examines public relations within the context of a work plan or campaign	Typical Marketing/Advertising Plan Format[10] . Situation Analysis . Objectives . Strategies . Tactics and Actions . Budget/Projected Profit & Loss . Controls	Professional	Output
Communication/Practice Style Examines public relations according to methods or communications techniques	Grunig's Four-Models of Public Relations:[11] . Press Agentry/Publicity . Public Information . Two-Way Asymmetric . Two-Way Symmetric	Communication Theory	Output

Organizational/Managerial Examines public relations in terms of management's evaluation of success, or working relationship within the organization.	Broom's Four Roles of Public Relations Practitioners[12] . Expert prescriber . Communication facilitator . Process facilitator . Communication technician	Managerial	Relationships to Organization
Behavioral Examines public relations solely in terms of results achieved in influencing individuals or groups.	Typical Marketing or Information Campaign, measured in terms of: . Beliefs (knowledge) . Attitudes (opinions) . Behaviors (such as buying, investing, donating, working or voting.	Behavioral/ Psychological	Individual
Social Problems Examines public relations as a response to political or sociological problems or opportunities.	Downs' Issue Attention Cycle[13] . Pre-problem stage . Alarmed discovery and effectiveness in response . Realizing the cost of significant progress . Gradual decline of intense public interest . Post-problem stage	Political/ Sociological	Organization and Society
Systems Examines public relations as an effort to strike a balance between an organization and its environment.	Cybernetics Models[14] stressing . Inputs . Outputs . Feedback . Adjustments	Management Science	Organization and Environment

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BYPASSED BY THE REVOLUTION?
PHOTOJOURNALISTS IN A DECADE OF CHANGE

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PHOTOJOURNALISTS IN A DECADE OF CHANGE

Competing media, changing lifestyles, and new technology have combined to foster a "graphics revolution" in an American newspaper industry worried about declining sales. Papers that were once drab sheets dominated by black-on-white type blossomed in the 1980s with color, art, and stimulating design. "The entire appearance of many newspapers is being redesigned coast to coast," wrote Donald Shaw of the Los Angeles Times, describing the change this way:

> New typefaces. More drawings and charts and graphs. More news summaries and "chronologies" of major events. Fewer stories on the front page. More (and bigger) photographs....(Agee, Ault & Emery, p. 353).

And, indeed, photography is an implicit part of the graphics revolution. According to Finberg, more than 60 percent of editors surveyed predicted they would be using more photographs by the year 2000 (Agee, Ault & Emery, p. 351). We could expect, therefore, that the people who produce those photographs--the photojournalists--are playing a bigger role in newspapers.

Conventional wisdom has long held that photojournalists are marginal players at most newspapers. Evidence has been produced to support that view. Reporting on a nationwide survey of photojournalists in 1983, News Photographer magazine wrote:

> Cut off from sufficient opportunity for advancement, deprived of influence on both the task and organizational levels, and denied adequate support from above, many photojournalists see themselves dwelling in a professional ghetto, i.e., a place where a despised minority are segregated and oppressed ("News Photographer's Career Ladder," p. 6).

The present study was undertaken to see whether the graphics revolution has changed things for this "despised minority." Has the growing importance of photojournalism in the 1980s brought a corresponding improvement in the lot of those who produce it?

BACKGROUND

It's not just commonsensical to speculate that newspapers' concern for their visual appeal, including photography, will enhance the status of photographers; a major school in the study of organizational behavior offers the theory to support it. In the early 1970s Hickson, et al, published their landmark literature review, "A Strategic Contingencies' Theory of Intraorganizational Power," which re-conceptualized the notion of where influence resides in an organization and why (Hickson, Hinings, Lee, Schneck, and Pennings, 1973). Essentially, they argued that power is distributed differentially among the departments of an organization depending on the circumstances in which the organization finds itself.

Traditionally, Hickson, et al, observed, research designs have treated power (a complex notion meaning "voice," "influence," "ability to determine behavior," etc.) as an independent variable. But it makes more sense, they wrote, to view power as the product of how a subunit copes with the uncertainty that constantly surrounds any enterprise. By coping, they explained:

> the subunit provides pseudo certainty for the other subunits by controlling what are otherwise contingencies for other activities. This coping confers power through the dependencies created.

Other factors, such as the centrality of the subunit is to the organizations' main activity and its substitutability, influence a subunit's power, according to Hickson, et al, but the main point is clear: power flows to a department to the extent that it is perceived as important to the larger organization's success. And with power come status and resources...qualities photojournalists all too often say they find in short supply.

The 1980s was a period of increasing uncertainty for American newspapers as readership and market share continued to slip. To cope with these problems, they made a number of changes, including a sharp increase in the emphasis placed on visual appearance. Although changes in the appearance of some American newspapers were seen in the 1970s, the graphics revolution surged primarily in the 1980s. An indicator is the growth of the Society of Newspaper Design, founded in 1979 with 22 members and now enrolling more than 2,300 persons (Agee, Ault and Emery, p. 353). A factor in changing the appearance of newspapers has been the introduction in the 1980s of such new technologies as picture-scanning systems and computer graphics. Perhaps the defining event, however, was the introduction of USA Today in 1982. With its bright colors, large pictures, and use of photographers as an important part of the graphic arts team, the paper was widely scorned in the newspaper industry--and just as widely imitated.

The present study, with data-gathering conducted in 1991 and 1992, is a followup to a benchmark study conducted in 1983, before the graphics revolution had become pervasive in the newspaper industry. Indeed, 78.1% of respondents to the followup study reported that only within the past five years have their papers had undergone a re-design placing more emphasis on graphics. And in the latter part of the decade an important new management position emerged in the newsroom, that of a picture or graphics editor with the background and the authority to supervise page design, layout and picture use (Gentry & Zang, 1989).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & HYPOTHESES

The unit of analysis for this study was the individual photojournalist, the "shooter" for the American newspaper. The study was concerned with four research questions:

(1) What are the overall levels of job satisfaction and commitment of photojournalists in 1991-2?

(2) To what extent have levels of job satisfaction and commitment of photojournalists changed during the graphics revolution, i.e., from 1983 to 1991-2?

(3) To what extent are American photojournalists now working on newspapers which (a) employ specialized editors for photography and graphics, and (b) have re-designed themselves to place more emphasis on graphics?

(4) To what do the presence of a picture or graphics editor and an extensive newspaper re-design influence the job satisfactions of photojournalists?

To assess our theory that the graphics revolution has had a salutary effect on photojournalists, the following hypotheses were tested:

H_1 Levels of job satisfaction rose significantly among photojournalists between 1983 and 1991-2.

H_2 Levels of commitment rose significantly among photojournalists between 1983 and 1991-2.

H_3 Levels of job satisfaction and commitment are higher on newspapers employing picture or graphics editors than those that do not.

H_4 Levels of job satisfaction and commitment are higher on newspapers which have undergone a re-design within the past five years than those which have not.

METHODOLOGY

The 1983 and 1991-2 versions of the "Photojournalism Career Study" used four-page questionnaires of largely similar design. The later version added items about newspaper re-design and picture or graphics editors, while dropping a section on job burnout.

Both studies contained tested and validated items designed to measure job satisfaction and commitment to job and career. Satisfaction and commitment items were taken from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (QES) the third in a nationwide series by the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan (Quinn & Staines, 1978).

Table 3 displays the 22 satisfaction questions which were facet-specific, that is, concerned with specific dimensions of the photojournalist's job. Through factor analysis, the Michigan researchers distributed the 22 facet items into seven clusters: job comfort, challenge and variety, autonomy, financial rewards, task significance, support, and promotions. A 23rd question measured overall job satisfaction, i.e., "All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your present job?" Finally, both studies included six items from the QES intended to measure respondents' sense of mobility and commitment to job and career; these items are displayed in Table 6.

SAMPLING

For both the benchmark and followup studies, interval sampling was used to send questionnaires to every *n*th name on the membership list of the National Press Photographers Association. The NPPA membership was chosen for study because of its high penetration of the field; Bethune's 1981 survey found 69% of photojournalists were NPPA members (Bethune, 1984, p. 613).

For the benchmark study, one mailing of 1,706 questionnaires in April, 1983, brought a return of 765, for a response rate of 44.8% From these returns, only fulltime staff and chief photographers for newspapers were selected for the study, excluding respondents such as part-timers, editors, writers, and broadcast workers. The net qualified for analysis was 345.

For the followup study eight and a half years later, 1,050 questionnaires were mailed in October, 1991, bringing a gross return of 352. A repeat mailing in January, 1992, brought 107 more responses, for a total of 459 respondents (43.7%). Once again, all but fulltime staff and chief newspaper photographers were excluded, bringing the net to 312.

RESULTS

Demographics: Small apparent differences between the 1983 and 1991-2 samples were not statistically significant in most cases. However, the mean age of the 1991-2 respondents was slightly over two years higher than that of the benchmark group. (The 1983 median age was 30, the 1991-2, 33.)

DEMOGRAPHIC	1983	1991-2	SIGNIFICANCE
Males (Pct.)	86.1	82.7	N.S.
Married (Pct.)	53.3	54.7	N.S.
Bachelor's or higher (Pct.)	59.4	64.1	N.S.
Circulations (Means)	157K	174K	N.S.
Daily newspaper (Pct.)	89.0	89.4	N.S.
Age (Means)	33.05	35.31	$t=3.177$, $p < .01$

Satisfaction Benchmarks. Results from the 1983 benchmark study are summarized in Table 1, with items listed in descending order of satisfaction. Photojournalists reported the greatest satisfaction of all on an item measuring task significance: 89% said it was very or somewhat true that "[t]he work I do on my job is meaningful to me." Next highest were three items related to the challenge and variety of the photojournalists' work. The greatest dissatisfaction appeared on three measures concerning promotion. For example, 74.7% said they did not believe their "chances for promotion are good."

In addition, an item asked respondents to indicate "all in all how satisfied...you are with your present job." Of the 340 responding to this question, 15.6% were "very satisfied" (compared with 46.7% of all U.S. workers sampled in the 1977 QES study); 55.9% were "somewhat satisfied" (QES=41.7%), 23.2% were "not too satisfied" (QES=8.9%), and 5.3% were "not at all satisfied" (QES=2.7%).

Of course, not all facets of a job are equally important to a worker. Accordingly, the relationships between the 22 facet satisfaction items and the overall satisfaction question were measured with Pearson *r* product-moment correlations; results are shown in the two right-hand columns in Table 1. Three of the four highest correlations, ranging from .506 to .390, were found with the facet items on promotion; the smallest correlations, on the other hand, related to job comfort and challenge and variety of work.

Journalists--editors, writers and photographers alike--have traditionally viewed the newspaper industry as employing a "farm system." Careers typically are launched in small media markets, with material and status rewards achieved by moving up to larger organizations. A comparison of the largest and the smallest newspapers in the benchmark sample confirms this (Table 4). Photojournalists at the sample's largest and smallest quartiles (determined by circulation) differ significantly on nine of the

22 facet satisfactions. In seven of the nine measures--all in the areas of job comfort and financial rewards--the difference favored the larger papers. Photojournalists at larger papers also were significantly more satisfied "all in all" than their colleagues at the smallest papers. Only in meaningfulness of work and in "use [of] my skills and abilities" did photojournalists at the smallest newspapers show higher levels of satisfaction.

Benchmark and Followup Satisfactions Compared. Data from the facet satisfaction items in the 1991-2 followup study are summarized in Table 2. To ease comparison between these data and those from the 1983 benchmark study, *t*-tests were employed to test for differences; the results are shown in Table 3. While slight changes occurred in the way photojournalists rank ordered their satisfactions, the 1991-2 participants produced statistically significant changes from 1983 on only two individual facet satisfaction items: they were less likely to agree that their jobs required them to be creative, and they were less likely to describe their job security as good.

"All-in-all satisfaction," measured by the global item, may have seemed to improve, from a mean of 2.18 in 1983 to 2.11 in 1991-2, but the change was not statistically significant. It should be noted, however, the correlations between the 22 facet satisfactions and the global item increased between the two surveys: averaging .322 in 1983, the mean Pearson r reached .391 in 1991-2. In other words, photojournalists are a little surer about what makes them happy overall.

Once again, photojournalists at larger newspapers in 1991-2 were found to be significantly more satisfied than those at small papers, primarily in the areas of job comfort and financial reward (Table 5). They also were more satisfied "all in all." No longer, however, did photojournalists in small newspapers report more satisfaction with in the meaningfulness of work, nor in the use of their skills and abilities. In fact, a new difference emerged in favor of the larger papers: their photojournalists were less likely to describe their jobs as requiring them to "do the same thing over and over."

Commitment, Benchmark and Followup. A portion of the questionnaire focused on the respondents' commitment, meaning his or her dedication to job and career. Also included were two measures of perceived mobility in the job market.

Table 6 indicates that clear majorities of photojournalists in both surveys see leaving a present job and finding another as less than easy. Scarcely half, however, expect to be working for the same employer five years from now, although most see themselves continuing to work in "some aspect of photography." About two thirds would take the same job again "without hesitation;" about three fourths would enter the same career. The one difference between 1983 and 1991-2 respondents (Table 7): a small but statistically significant increase in the number who think it "somewhat likely" they'll be working for the same employer five years from now.

The Graphics Revolution. Hallmarks of the graphics revolution in the 1980s have been (1) the introduction at many papers of a picture or graphics editor, with appropriate background and special responsibility for page design, layout and picture use, and (2) a re-design of the newspaper, with more emphasis placed on graphics. Our followup survey measured the extent to which respondents have experienced both. (These questions were not included in the 1983 survey, so comparisons between benchmark and followup surveys are not possible.)

The 1991-2 survey found that 53.4% of the photojournalists worked for newspapers which employed "a picture editor/graphics editor whose primary responsibility is to supervise page design, layout and picture use." Respondents whose papers employed such personnel described 63.7% of them as having backgrounds in photojournalism, 18.5% in art or illustration, and only 12.5% as "word people" from writing and reporting backgrounds. (5.4% were said to have multiple or "other" backgrounds.). In addition, 74.6% of respondents said their picture or graphics editor had a degree in journalism and 12.7% in graphic arts. (The remaining 12.6% had combinations or other degrees.)

Concerning the appearance of their newspapers, 78.1% of respondents in the 1991-2 followup survey reported their newspapers had, within the past five years, "undergone a re-design which placed more emphasis on graphics." The most striking effect of the re-design concerning photography has been a sharp increase in the use of color photographs (Table 8: 81.1% agreed, in varying degrees, that the new design had increased their use. Otherwise, re-design has been a decidedly mixed bag for photojournalists: only 52.5% agreed the new design increased use of photographs that tell a story, and only a scant majority (51.5%) said the new design improved overall picture usage. Not surprisingly, when asked directly if the re-design had improved their job satisfaction, a clear majority--57.4%--disagreed.

But how do the presence of picture/graphics editor and a recent re-design contribute to the facet and "all-in-all" satisfactions of the photojournalists?

As might be expected, no significant differences were found between photojournalists at papers with recent re-designs and those without. Papers with picture/graphics editors, however, did show significantly more satisfactions than those at papers without. Such specialized personnel most typically are associated with larger newspapers, as shown by the following crosstabulation of circulation size (in quartiles by n) and the presence (in percentages) of such a staffer:

	Yes	No
Largest papers (205K-2,500K) n=76	76.0	24.0
Upper mid-sized (75K-200K) n=78	59.5	40.5
Lower mid-sized (30K-70K) n=74	46.2	53.8
Smallest (3.5K-29.4K) n=75	31.6	68.4

It has already been seen (Tables 4 and 5) that some satisfactions differ significantly according to circulation size. Accordingly, two-way ANOVA, controlling for circulation, was used to measure the difference signified by the presence of a picture/graphics editor alone, regardless of paper size. The following significant differences--all in favor of such an editor--were found among the respondents to the 1991-2 survey. Item means appear in the three columns on the right, with items scored as follows: Very true = 1, Somewhat true = 2, Not too true = 3, Not at all true = 4.

		ALL	P/G EDITOR	NO P/G EDITOR
*	My job requires that I be creative (F [1, 300]=5.380, p < .05)	1.73	1.63	1.84
*	The pay is good (F [1, 299]= 35.991, p < .001)	2.53	2.29	2.80
*	I receive enough help and equipment to get the job done (F [1, 298]=13.937, p < .001)	2.44	2.21	2.69
*	Promotions are handled fairly (F [1, 289]=5.236, p < .05)	2.77	2.64	2.91
*	My employer is very concerned about giving everyone a chance to get ahead (F [1, 296]=5.675, p < .05)	2.91	2.77	3.07
*	All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your present job? (F [1, 294]=5.374, p < .05)	2.12	1.99	2.26

Regardless of circulation size, therefore, photojournalists are happier in several ways at papers with picture/graphics editors. It is particularly notable that while photojournalists at such papers report their "chances for promotion" are no better than at other papers, they nonetheless feel treated more equitably. They are also happier with pay and equipment, and are even more likely to see their jobs as demanding more creativity.

However, no significant differences in level of commitment were found between papers with picture/graphics editors and those without.

DISCUSSION

In comparing the 1983 benchmark and 1991-2 followup surveys overall, it is striking how little change occurred, despite the graphics revolution. For the better part of a decade of change in the industry, photojournalists have remained, on the whole:

* Mostly satisfied with the challenge, variety and meaningfulness of their work.

* Mostly dissatisfied with their opportunities for promotion (and, to a slightly lesser extent, with their pay and the help and equipment they get).

* Most likely to relate their overall job dissatisfaction to their lack of opportunity for promotion.

* Lukewarm about how satisfied they are with their jobs, all in all: only 18%, on average, are "very satisfied," while 22.8% are "not too" and 5.1% "not at all satisfied." For the majority (54.2%), the answer of choice is a tepid "somewhat satisfied."

* Pessimistic about their opportunities to move elsewhere.

* Nonetheless, in one out of two cases, not expecting to work for the same employers "five years from now."

* Largely unregretful about choosing the occupation (in three out of four cases), less so about their present employer (in two out of three cases).

We also found that the "farm system" remains alive and well in the American newspaper industry: photojournalists at the largest papers continue to be happier about their financial rewards and workloads than those at the smallest papers. About the only change between 1983 and 1991-2 was a loss at small papers of the advantage photojournalists once claimed they had in intrinsic rewards, such as self-fulfillment and meaningfulness.

A handful of small but statistically significant changes did occur overall between 1983 and 1991-2: in 1991-2, photojournalists in general were a little less likely to agree that their work requires them to be creative, less likely to describe their job security as good, and more likely to predict they will be working for the same employer five years from now. We suggest that these changes reflect economic pressures on the newspaper industry that demand more work from staffers and promise less job protection.

In short, the first and second hypotheses were not supported: levels of job satisfaction and commitment did not rise for photojournalists, as an occupational group, during the graphics revolution.

And yet....

Despite a lack of change overall, there have indeed been certain effects. Recent re-design has not, in itself, made the difference. Newspapers may have become more colorful, but--in the opinion of photojournalists--they are not necessarily making better use of photographs or raising satisfaction levels of the people who create them. The fourth hypothesis, therefore, has not been supported. Where things ARE better, however, is at certain newspapers which employ a picture or graphics editor, with appropriate background, to supervise page design, layout and picture use.

Irrespective of circulation, at papers employing picture or graphics editors photojournalists feel better paid and better supplied with help and equipment. They are also more likely to feel creativity is expected of them. They are more likely to be satisfied "all in all." Perhaps most telling of all, however, they are more likely to feel promotions are handled fairly and that their employer cares about their advancement even though they do not regard their chances for promotion as being any better. Therefore, we conclude that the third hypothesis--"that levels of job satisfaction and commitment are higher on newspapers employing picture editors than those that do not"--is partially but significantly supported.

Further research is needed on the dynamics between picture/graphics editors, photojournalism staffs, and managements. Until then it can only guessed why photojournalists are happier at papers which have the specialized editor, whatever their size. We suggest that the answer most likely lies in some combination of the following: (1) the presence of a picture/graphics editor is just one more demonstration a newspaper already has an enlightened management willing to commit care, consideration and resources to photojournalism, and (2) once appointed, the picture/graphics editor serves as an advocate of the needs of the shooters.

CONCLUSION

In general, according to American newspaper photojournalists, their lot in 1991-2 is little different from what it was in 1983. After 8 1/2 years of "graphics revolution," they are, as a group, just about as unhappy with their promotion opportunities and financial rewards as before, and they still draw about the same satisfactions from the meaningfulness, challenge and variety of their work. And as before, photojournalists at large papers are relatively happier with their financial rewards and workloads than those at small papers.

Moreover, a re-design of a newspaper does not necessarily signal an improvement in the job satisfactions of the shooters. For one thing, the odds are only even that picture usage improves in such re-designs. But what does make a difference is whether a paper employs a picture or graphics editor. Regardless of a newspaper's size, the presence of such a specialist on the staff likely signals the presence of photojournalists who are happier with their jobs "all in all" and also with pay, support, and creativity, when compared with papers lacking such a specialist. Most significant of all, perhaps, is that photojournalists feel more fairly treated in the area of promotions, even though they don't see their chances for promotion as being any better.

Our advice for photojournalists: Some papers clearly place more value on photography and treat their shooters better than do other papers. But instead of looking simply for larger papers to move up to, look for those with picture or graphics editors--regardless of their size.

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TABLE 1

Satisfactions of Photojournalists

Benchmark Survey, 1983

Items and their QES Factors[a]		Means[b]	Std. Devs.	Correl. overall[c]	Corr. Rank[d]
1.	The work I do on my job is meaningful to me (Task Significance)	1.603	.711	.364	(7)
2.	My job requires that I be creative (Challenge & Variety)	1.614	.672	.336	(9)
3.	I get to do many different things on my job (Challenge & Variety)	1.629	.762	.212	(21)
4.	My job lets me use my skills and abilities (Challenge & Variety)	1.723	.701	.359	(8)
5.	It is basically my own responsibility to decide how my job gets done (Autonomy)	1.881	.747	.272	(17)
6.	The job security is good (Financial Rewards)	1.936	.892	.292	(15)
7.	I am given a chance to do the things that I do best (Challenge & Variety)	2.009	.819	.380	(5)
8.	I have enough time to get the job done (Job Comfort)	2.093	.766	.261	(19)
9.	My job requires that I keep learning new things (Challenge & Variety)	2.104	.969	.283	(16)
10.	A lot of people can be affected by how well I do my work (Task Significance)	2.116	.864	.305	(14)
11.	The hours are good (Job Comfort)	2.209	.884	.314	(12)

12.	I am not asked to do excessive amounts of work (Job Comfort)	2.218	.941	.206	(20)
13.	I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job (Autonomy)	2.223	.802	.311	(13)
14.	I have enough information to get the job done (Support)	2.238	.766	.314	(11)
15.	My job requires that I do the same things over and over (Challenge & Variety)	2.244	.882	-0.167	(22)
16.	My fringe benefits are good (Financial Rewards)	2.328	1.024	.268	(18)
17.	I have a lot to say about what happens on my job (Autonomy)	2.404	.864	.390	(3)
18.	I receive enough help and equipment to get the job done (Support)	2.407	.868	.374	(6)
19.	The pay is good (Financial Rewards)	2.458	1.007	.332	(10)
20.	Promotions are handled fairly (Promotions)	2.693	.893	.449	(2)
21.	My employer is very concerned about giving everyone a chance to get ahead (Promotions)	2.917	.937	.506	(1)
22.	The chances for promotion are good (Promotions)	3.066	.844	.390	(4)

(N=345)

[a] Items are arrayed in descending order of agreement, according to mean.

[b] Items were scored as follows: Very True = 1, Somewhat True = 2, Not Too True = 3, Not at all True = 4.

[c] Pearson *r* correlations of each facet satisfaction item with item 23: "All-in-all: How satisfied would you say you are with your present job?"

[d] Rank order of correlations, in descending order of magnitude.

TABLE 2

Satisfactions of Photojournalists

Followup Survey, 1991-2

Items and their QES Factors[a]	Means[b]	Std. Devs.	Correl. overall[c]	Corr. Rank[d]
1. The work I do on my job is meaningful to me (Task Significance)	1.630	.727	.475	(6)
2. I get to do many different things on my job (Challenge & Variety)	1.660	.755	.337	(14)
3. My job requires that I be creative (Challenge & Variety)	1.734	.774	.484	(4)
4. My job lets me use my skills and abilities (Challenge & Variety)	1.794	.741	.538	(1)
5. It is basically my own responsibility to decide how my job gets done (Autonomy)	1.939	.836	.318	(17)
6. I am given a chance to do the things that I do best (Challenge & Variety)	2.029	.814	.482	(5)
7. I have enough time to get the job done (Job Comfort)	2.064	.779	.337	(15)
8. My job requires that I keep learning new things (Challenge & Variety)	2.071	.950	.311	(19)
9. A lot of people can be affected by how well I do my work (Task Significance)	2.097	.805	.290	(20)
10. The job security is good (Financial Rewards)	2.132	.915	.425	(10)
11. The hours are good (Job Comfort)	2.167	.854	.327	(16)

12.	I am not asked to do excessive amounts of work (Job Comfort)	2.212	.873	.312	(18)
13.	I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job (Autonomy)	2.250	.844	.371	(12)
14.	My job requires that I do the same things over and over (Challenge & Variety)	2.266	.868	-0.242	(22)
15.	My fringe benefits are good (Financial Rewards)	2.289	.928	.285	(21)
16.	I have a lot to say about what happens on my job (Autonomy)	2.312	.858	.470	(7)
17.	I have enough information to get the job done (Support)	2.316	.777	.374	(11)
18.	I receive enough help and equipment to get the job done (Support)	2.432	.944	.462	(8)
19.	The pay is good (Financial Rewards)	2.534	.988	.339	(13)
20.	Promotions are handled fairly (Promotions)	2.769	.983	.486	(3)
21.	My employer is very concerned about giving everyone a chance to get ahead (Promotions)	2.906	.942	.497	(2)
22.	The chances for promotion are good (Promotions)	3.143	.826	.431	(9)

(n=312)

[a] Items are arrayed in descending order of agreement, according to mean.

[b] Items were scored as follows: Very True = 1, Somewhat True = 2, Not Too True = 3, Not at All True = 4.

[c] Pearson *r* correlations of each facet satisfaction item with item 23: "All-in-all: How satisfied would you say you are with your present job?"

[d] Rank order of correlations, in descending order of magnitude.

TABLE 3

Satisfactions of Photojournalists

Comparison of Benchmark & Followup Surveys

Items, grouped by QES Factors[a]	1983 Means[b]	1991-2 Means[b]	Difference[c]	Signif.
JOB COMFORT				
13. I have enough time to get the job done.	2.09	2.06	0.029	N.S.
14. The hours are good.	2.21	2.17	0.043	N.S.
15. I am not asked to do excessive amounts of work.	2.22	2.21	0.006	N.S.
CHALLENGE & VARIETY				
16. My job requires that I keep learning new things.	2.10	2.07	0.034	N.S.
17. I get to do many different things on my job.	1.63	1.66	-0.031	N.S.
18. My job requires that I do the same things over and over.	2.24	2.27	-0.022	N.S.
19. My job lets me use my skills and abilities.	1.72	1.79	-0.071	N.S.
20. My job requires that I be creative.	1.61	1.73	-0.119	t=2.114 p<.05
21. I am given a chance to do the things that I do best (Challenge & Variety)	2.01	2.03	-0.020	N.S.
AUTONOMY				
22. I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job.	2.22	2.25	-0.027	N.S.
23. It is basically my own responsibility to decide how my job gets done.	1.88	1.94	-0.058	N.S.
24. I have a lot to say about what happens on my job.	2.40	2.31	0.092	N.S.

FINANCIAL REWARDS					
25.	The pay is good.	2.46	2.53	-0.076	N.S.
26.	The job security is good.	1.94	2.13	-0.196	t=2.769 p<.01
27.	My fringe benefits are good.	2.33	2.29	0.038	N.S.
TASK SIGNIFICANCE					
28.	A lot of people can be affected by how well I do my work.	2.12	2.10	0.019	N.S.
29.	The work I do on my job is meaningful to me.	1.60	1.63	-0.027	N.S.
30.	I have enough information to get the job done.	2.24	2.32	-0.078	N.S.
31.	I receive enough help and equipment to get the job done.	2.41	2.43	-0.025	N.S.
PROMOTIONS					
32.	Promotions are handled , fairly.	2.69	2.77	-0.076	N.S.
33.	The chances for promotion are good.	3.07	3.14	-0.078	N.S.
34.	My employer is very concerned about giving everyone a chance to get ahead.	2.92	2.91	0.011	N.S.
ALL IN ALL					
35.	How satisfied are you with your present job?[e]	2.18	2.11	0.068	N.S.

[a] Items are arrayed as they appeared in the surveys; the numbers in the first column are the item numbers in the questionnaire.

[b] Items were scored as follows: Very true = 1, Somewhat true = 2, Not too true = 3, Not at all true = 4.

[c] This column is computed by subtracting each 1991-2 mean from its corresponding 1983 mean.

TABLE 4

Satisfactions of Photojournalists

Larger vs. Smaller Newspapers, 1983 Benchmark Survey

(Items with non-significant differences omitted)

Items, grouped by QES Factors[a]	Larger Papers[b]	Smaller Papers[c]	Difference[d]	Signif.
JOB COMFORT				
13. I have enough time to get the job done.	1.89	2.23	0.343	$t=2.905$ $p< .01$
14. The hours are good.	2.05	2.49	0.445	$t=3.290$ $p< .01$
15. I am not asked to do excessive amounts of work.	2.10	2.42	0.322	$t=2.281$ $p< .05$
CHALLENGE & VARIETY				
19. My job lets me use my skills and abilities.	1.85	1.60	-0.249	$t=2.152$ $p< .05$
FINANCIAL REWARDS				
25. The pay is good.	1.77	3.09	1.315	$t=10.17$ $p< .001$
26. The job security is good.	1.69	2.26	0.573	$t=3.980$ $p<.001$
27. My fringe benefits are good.	1.73	2.98	1.240	$t=8.861$ $p< .001$
TASK SIGNIFICANCE				
29. The work I do on my job is meaningful to me.	1.78	1.47	-0.314	$t=2.969$ $p< .01$
SUPPORT				
31. I receive enough help and equipment to get the job done.	2.06	2.54	0.482	$t=3.554$ $p<.01$
ALL IN ALL...				
35. How satisfied are you with your present job?[e]	2.02	2.29	0.267	$t=2.382$ $P< .05$

[a] Items are arrayed as they appeared in the surveys; the numbers in the first column are the item numbers in the questionnaire.

All items in this table, except the last, were scored as follows: Very true = 1, Somewhat true = 2, Not too true = 3, Not at all true = 4.

[b] "Larger newspapers" ranged in circulation size from 180,000 to 1,700,000; n=83. They represent the top quartile in the sample.

[c] "Smaller newspapers" ranged in size from 1,500 to 26,000; n=81. They represent the bottom quartile in the sample.

[d] The difference score was computed by substracting the mean of the larger newspapers from the mean of the smaller newspapers for each item.

[e] This item was scored as follows: Very satisfied = 1, Somewhat satisfied = 2, Not too satisfied = 3, Not at all satisfied = 4.

TABLE 5

Satisfactions of Photojournalists

Larger vs. Smaller Newspapers, 1991-2 Followup Survey

(Items with non-significant differences omitted)

Items, grouped by QES Factors[a]	Larger Papers[b]	Smaller Papers[c]	Difference[d]	Signif.
JOB COMFORT				
13. I have enough time to get the job done.	1.93	2.23	0.300	t=2.385 p< .05
14. The hours are good.	1.95	2.39	0.442	t=3.119 p< .01
15. I am not asked to do excessive amounts of work.	2.00	2.60	0.597	t=4.069 p< .001
CHALLENGE & VARIETY				
18. My job requires that I do the same thing over and over.	2.59	2.06	-0.527	t=3.986 p< .001
FINANCIAL REWARDS				
25. The pay is good.	1.82	3.20	1.382	t=10.36 p< .001
26. The job security is good.	1.87	2.22	0.354	t=2.483 p<.05
27. My fringe benefits are good.	2.03	2.62	0.597	t=4.010 p< .001
SUPPORT				
31. I receive enough help and equipment to get the job done.	2.11	2.77	0.661	t=4.324 p< .001
ALL IN ALL...	1.83	2.22	0.397	t=3.250 p<.01
35. How satisfied are you with your present job?[e]				

[a] Items are arrayed as they appeared in the surveys; the numbers in the first column are the item numbers in the questionnaire.

All items in this table, except the last, were scored as follows: Very true = 1, Somewhat true = 2, Not too true = 3, Not at all true = 4.

[b] "Larger newspapers" ranged in circulation size from 180,000 to 1,700,000; n=83. They represent the top quartile in the sample.

[c] "Smaller newspapers" ranged in size from 1,500 to 26,000; n=81. They represent the bottom quartile in the sample.

[d] The difference score was computed by substracting the mean of the larger newspapers from the mean of the smaller newspapers for each item.

[e] This item was scored as follows: Very satisfied = 1, Somewhat satisfied = 2, Not too satisfied = 3, Not at all satisfied = 4.

Table 6

Measures of Commitment to Job and Career

(Table data in percentages)

1. It would be very hard for you to leave your job even if you wanted to.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1983 (n=343)	19.5	35.9	33.2	11.4
1991-2 (n=306)	23.5	37.3	29.1	10.1

2. About how easy would it be for you to find a job with another employer about the same income and fringe benefits you now have?

	Very Easy	Somewhat Easy	Not easy at All
1983 (n=345)	5.7	31.1	63.2
1991-2 (n=304)	6.6	28.9	64.5

3. Five years from now, how likely is it that you will be working for the same employer?

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Too Likely	Very Unlikely
1983 (n=343)	18.4	24.2	22.2	35.3
1991-2 (n=306)	19.9	33.3	22.9	23.9

4. Five years from now, how likely is it that you will be working in some aspect of photography?

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Too Likely	Very Unlikely
1983 (n=342)	75.7	17.5	4.7	2.0
1991-2 (n=308)	71.8	23.1	4.2	1.0

5. Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to take the JOB you now have, how would you decide?

I'd decide without hesitation to take the same job.
1983 (n=343): 65.3
1991-2 (n=308): 63.0

I'd have some second thoughts.
1983: 30.3
1991-2: 31.8

I'd decide definitely NOT to take the same job.
1983: 4.4
1991-2: 5.2

6. Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again to enter the same CAREER you are now in, what would you decide?

I'd decide without hesitation to take the same job.
1983 (n=342): 73.7
1991-2 (n=304): 68.4

I'd have some second thoughts.
1983: 22.8
1991-2: 26.6

I'd decide definitely NOT to take the same job.
1983: 3.5
1991-2: 4.9

TABLE 7

Photojournalists' Commitment to Job and Career

Comparison of Benchmark & Followup Surveys

ITEMS[a]		1983 Means	1991-2 Means	Difference[b]	Signif.
46.	It would very hard for you to leave your job even if you wanted to.[c]	2.36	2.26	0.106	N.S.
47.	About how easy would it be for you to find a job with another employer with about the same income and fringe benefits you now have?[d]	2.57	2.58	-0.004	N.S.
48.	Five years from now, how likely is it that you will be working for the same employer?[e]	2.74	2.51	0.237	t=2.748 p<.01
49.	Five years from now, how likely is it that you will be working in some aspect of photography?[e]	1.33	1.34	-0.014	N.S.
50.	Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to take the JOB you now have what would you decide?[f]	1.39	1.42	-0.031	N.S.
51.	Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to enter the same CAREER you are now in, what would you decide?[f]	1.30	1.37	-0.067	N.S.

[a] Items are arrayed as they appeared in the surveys; the numbers in the first column are the item numbers in the questionnaire.

[b] The difference score was computed by subtracting each 1991-2 mean from its corresponding 1983 mean.

[c] Item was scored: Strongly Agree = 1, Agree = 2, Disagree = 3, Strongly Disagree = 4.

[d] Item was scored: Very Easy = 1, Somewhat Easy = 2, Not Easy at All = 3.

[e] Item was scored: Very Likely = 1, Somewhat Likely = 2, Not Too Likely = 3, Very Unlikely = 4.

[f] Item was scored: I'd decide without hesitation to enter the same career [or job] = 1, I'd have some second thoughts = 2, I'd decide definitely NOT to enter the same career [or job].

TABLE 8

Satisfactions of Photojournalists With Re-Design of their Newspapers

(table figures in percentages)

ITEMS[a]		Strngly Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strngly Disagre
39.	The new design of our paper has increased the emphasis on photos that tell a story.	14.4	38.1	31.8	15.7
40.	The new design of our paper has increased the emphasis on color photographs.	45.3	35.8	7.8	11.2
41.	The new design of our paper has increased the emphasis on studio illustrations.	7.0	23.5	44.3	25.2
42.	The new design of our paper has increased the emphasis on headshots.	13.7	34.6	44.4	7.3
43.	The new design of our paper has increased the overall picture usage.	13.9	37.6	35.0	13.5
44.	The new design of our paper has increased my job satisfaction.	9.6	33.0	42.2	15.2

[a] Questions arrayed as they appeared on questionnaire, including item numbers.

Interpersonal Communication in News Diffusion:

A study of "Magic" Johnson's Announcement

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Interpersonal Communication in News Diffusion: A study of "Magic" Johnson's Announcement

Abstract

Two studies examined interpersonal communication in the news diffusion process. The first study conducted was a meta-analysis of thirty-four previous news diffusion studies published in research journals. Results indicate that the general importance of a news event is positively associated with the level of diffusion of the news and the amount of interpersonal communication. In the second study, the diffusion of the news of Magic Johnson's announcement that he tested positive for HIV infection was investigated. A distinction is made between hearing the news and telling it to others. Results indicate little relationship between personal relevance and how a person hears of news, but the relevance affects whether a person tells the news to others. Specifically, men and basketball fans are more likely to pass on the information than women and non-basketball fans. These findings identify personal relevance in the news diffusion process.

Interpersonal Communication in News Diffusion:

A study of "Magic" Johnson's Announcement

Systematic research of the news diffusion process began in the U.S. near the end of World War II. One of the first studies of the diffusion of a major news event was Miller's (1945) analysis of the news of President Roosevelt's death within a university community.[1] Miller's analysis became the prototype for dozens of subsequent investigations.[2] Despite a large number of studies, this area has yielded little in the way of theory.[3] This article proposes that a closer look at the theories and process of news diffusion can provide an important understanding of how the news diffusion process actually occurs.

Two psychologists, Katz and Lazarsfeld, provided an early theoretical explanation for the news diffusion process by introducing their "two-step flow" hypothesis.[4] According to their hypothesis, "Ideas flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from these to the less active sections of the population."[5] The psychological perspective introduced by Katz and Lazarsfeld focuses attention on how individuals contributed to the diffusion of the news. To date, however, the majority of news diffusion research focuses on the extent to which a community learns of a major news event over time. Although research indicates that major news stories diffuse rapidly within a community, little insight exists regarding the exact process of news diffusion. Specifically, studies of communities do not necessarily provide information on the behavior of individuals within that community.[6]

The distinction between studying news diffusion at the individual versus the community level is important. The unit of analysis determines what theories are tested, what effects are predicted, and how the process occurs.[7] To date, thirty-four different studies of news diffusion have proven inconclusive in testing the two-step hypothesis. This is because the majority of these studies investigate how an audience as a whole learns about a news event through the media instead of analyzing how individuals diffuse information received through the media, as Katz and Lazarsfeld suggested. Specifically, an individual who receives information about an event from the media can seek additional information, pass the information on to others who have not heard, or discuss the information with others who have already heard. Therefore more insight into news diffusion will be provided by studying the "two-step flow" process proposed by Katz and Lazarsfeld at the individual level of analysis.

To evaluate the process by which news diffusion occurs, two different studies were conducted. First, a meta-analysis of previous research findings was conducted to analyze the relationship between the general importance of a story and the diffusion, source, and level of telling others of the story. In the second study, the news diffusion process at the individual level was assessed by determining how people responded to Magic Johnson's announcement that he tested positive for HIV infection. Specifically, the two-step hypothesis was tested by analyzing the effects of the personal relevance of the story to particular individuals as estimated by gender and exposure to Magic Johnson on each person's propensity to hear and to diffuse the news about his HIV infection.

Study 1: Meta-analysis of Previous News Diffusion Research

Beginning with Miller's research on the news of President Roosevelt's death,[8] a summary of the pertinent news diffusion studies used in the present analysis is provided. Because these studies share few dimensions, there is no clear conceptual organizational scheme. Instead, this review is historical.

Studies that were analyzed during the 1950s include Bogart's[9] radio study about news of a local girl, Larsen and Hill's[10] news study of the death of Senator Taft, Danielson's[11] study of the news of Eisenhower's reelection decision, and Medalia & Larsen's[12] investigation of windshield pitting in the Seattle area (this turned out to be a natural phenomenon).

The number of news diffusion studies increased during the 1960s. One study examined the spread of four different stories -- the launch of Sputnik, President Eisenhower's stroke, the launch of Explorer, and Alaska statehood.[13] The largest flurry of research investigated the spread of news about President Kennedy's assassination.[14] Research subsequent to the Kennedy assassination tried to examine limits on the diffusion process by investigating the diffusion of stories of varying interest and timeliness. Greenberg investigated the importance of face-to-face communication in stories of varying newsworthiness.[15] Greenberg, Brinton & Farr investigated news of the Clay-Liston heavyweight boxing match.[16] Budd, MacLean and Barnes looked at Eisenhower's stroke, Khruschchev's ouster, and the arrest of presidential assistant Walter Jenkins.[17] Allen and Colfax investigated the spread of news on President Johnson's decision not to seek a second term.[18] Adams, Mullen and Wilson studied the spread of news from a minor papal "Encyclical."[19] Levy compared knowledge of six assassinations.[20] O'Keefe examined doctor's knowledge of the first successful human heart transplant.[21]

Research in the 1970s continued in the sociological tradition. Funkhouser and McCombs[22] compared the diffusion of five events: a heart transplant, Ohio prison riot, nomination of Supreme Court Justice Fortas, finding the sunken ship *Scorpion*, and President Nixon's new draft lottery. O'Keefe and Kissel[23] studied news of Eisenhower's death. Several news diffusion studies were published in 1973, including Fathi's[24] study of the spread of news in Canada of Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau's marriage; Hanneman and Greenberg's[25] study of two papal Encyclicals; O'Keefe and Spetnagel's[26] study of China's admission to the United Nations and the arrest of member of Veterans Against the War in Denver; and Ostlund's[27] study of McGovern's decision to drop Eagleton from the presidential ticket. In addition, two studies examined the attempted assassination of George Wallace[28]. In 1975, Fine studied news of Vice President Agnew's resignation.[29] At the close of the decade, Haroldsen and Harvey studied the diffusion of the Mormon church's announcement that blacks could be priests.[30]

During the 1980s the diffusion of four major news stories were investigated. Hirschburg, Dillman, and Ball-Rokeach investigated news of the eruption of Mount St. Helens.[31] Several studies were conducted of how news spread after the attempted assassination of President Reagan.[32] A third major news event that was studied was the attempted assassination of the Pope.[33] News diffusion of the explosion of the Space Shuttle *Challenger* was also analyzed.[34] A summary of these studies is shown in Table 1.

~~Research Questions and Hypothesis~~

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Following the theoretical framework articulated by Katz and Lazarsfeld, it is expected that people as well as the mass media are responsible for the diffusion of information through a community. Specifically, research has shown that the general importance of a news event affects the extent to which the news is diffused among that community. As a result, more important events are expected to reach a greater number of people than less important events. Learning about a major news story from either the media or from another individual, that person can then discuss the story with others. According to the two-step flow model by Katz,[35] personal influence augments the mass media. Thus important news stories would be expected to diffuse to others through both interpersonal communication channels and mass media channels. As a result, important stories should be more extensively diffused than unimportant news stories.[36]

Three specific predictions were tested in the present meta-analysis:

H1: The general importance of a news event will be positively associated with the extent to which that event is diffused among members of a community.

H2: The general importance of a news event will be positively associated with the extent to which people hear of an event through interpersonal communication channels.

H3: The general importance of a news event will be positively associated with the degree to which individuals who learn of the event pass on the news to others.

Method

To test these hypotheses, a meta-analysis of the results of 34 news diffusion studies was conducted, covering a 45-year period from 1945 to 1990. The studies analyzed were found by surveying published journal articles, through electronic searches, and by talking to colleagues. Recent reviews have examined most of these articles.[37] Eight of these publications reported on the diffusion of more than one news story.[38] Because the unit of analysis was the rate of diffusion of a single news story, each story was considered to be one event. This resulted in a total sample of 41, and covered 28 different news events.

First, the general importance of the news story was established. Although prior research has identified news value as a significant determinant of news diffusion,[39] it has largely been ignored as a quantitative variable.[40] Rosengren estimated a story's importance through the column inches in *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* devoted to the story.[41] When this approach was tried, several limitations occurred. First, this archive only indexed news of international affairs. Therefore, data could only be obtained for about half of the stories. Second, this index is compiled in London; therefore, their views of news importance may differ significantly from domestic views. Most directly, relative rankings could be different. Because of these reasons, an alternative method was tried. The number of stories that appeared that day (as reported in the *New York Times Index*) was used to estimate news value.[42] In this study, general importance is measured by press attention to the story.

Each study was coded for four additional pieces of information: (1) the percentage of respondents who learned of the news event within the first 24 hours, (2) the percentage of respondents who learned the news first from interpersonal sources, (3) the percentage of respondents who communicated the news to others, and (4) the percentage of respondents who sought additional information after they learned about the news event. If the news study reported where respondents sought additional information, this information was also coded. Because not all four pieces of information were available for each study, the N's were different for each correlation computed.

Because other factors could obscure the hypothesized relationships, three additional tests were conducted. First, statistical analysis verified that the year in which the study was conducted was not related to any of the dependent variables in the hypotheses. Second, the data was plotted so outliers could be examined. Third, the presence of nonlinear relationships among the variables was statistically analyzed through an analysis of variance.

Results of meta-analysis

Descriptive statistics

The general importance measure, the number of stories, varied from one (for the discovery of the Scorpion, the Ohio prison riot, and the arrest of members of Veterans Against the War in Denver) to 36 (on the explosion of the *Challenger*). The number of stories is shown in Column 3 of Table 1. Descriptive results also indicate that from 19 to 100 percent of respondents learned of the major news event analyzed within 24 hours from when the event occurred. Column 4 shows these varying rates of diffusion. More important events, such as the death of President Roosevelt (FDR) and the assassinations of President Kennedy (JFK), appear to be learned by more people and are known more widely.[43]

People learned of the event through either exposure to the mass media or being told by other people. People appear to be more likely to learn of important events through interpersonal sources.[44] Column 5 shows the rate of learning of news events through interpersonal sources. People appear to learn of more important events, such as the death of a President, through interpersonal sources (22 to 76 percent) than for less important events (2 to 23 percent).

The rate at which people sought additional information also varied according to the general importance of the event. Column 6 shows these data. Hearing of an assassination and attempted assassinations, for example, results in 46 to 100 percent of respondents seeking additional information. Less pressing events, such as the announcement of a new papal decree (Encyclical) or Prime Minister's marriage, results in only 15 to 23 percent of the respondents seeking additional information.

The rate at which people talked to others about the event also varied. Column 7 shows these rates. More important events appear to be more likely to result in telling others (21 to 100 percent) than less important events (17 to 25 percent).

These results suggest that the general importance of a news story may indeed affect the amount of interpersonal communication. Interpersonal communication, in turn, may affect the rate of diffusion of information through a community. When the news is important, interpersonal communication is high, and news diffusion is fast and thorough. When the news is not important, however, interpersonal communication is low, and news diffusion is slow and incomplete.[45] Next, statistical analysis of these data will be done.

Results of Hypotheses

According to Hypothesis 1, the general importance of the story should be positively correlated with the percentage who heard within 24 hours. The result was in the predicted direction, and statistically significant ($r=.46$, $n=36$, $p<.01$). We found no significant curvilinear relationship. This hypothesis, therefore, appears viable.

Hypothesis 2 predicted a positive relationship between the general importance of the story and the percentage who heard through interpersonal communication. The results were in the predicted direction, and statistically significant ($r=.65$, $n=33$, $p<.001$).

Hypothesis 3 predicted a positive relationship between the general importance of the story and the percentage of the population who told others of the event. We did not find any linear ($r=-.08$, $n=22$, $p>.05$) or curvilinear relationship ($F<1$, n.s.).[46]

Discussion

The general importance of a story was, as predicted, positively related to the level of diffusion (within 24 hours). It seems likely that the diffusion level is related to the "news value" of the story. Stories that are more newsworthy tend to be talked about and spread through the population through interpersonal communication. As a result, these stories spread more thoroughly. This finding is in accord with some previous research.[47]

The general importance of a story was also positively related to the amount of interpersonal communication. People are less likely to have heard of low interest stories through interpersonal communication, than they are to have heard about more important news stories.[48]

Although we predicted a positive relationship between the general importance of a news story and the rates of telling others of the information, we did not find this result. This difference in news value does not appear to hold for talking to others. That is, news stories of high news value were no more likely to be told to others than those of medium or low news value.

Conclusions

The results of the present meta-analysis support the assumption that general news value plays an important role in determining the method and rate of diffusion of news stories. A review of news diffusion literature indicates that our current findings are consistent with previous studies.[49] Personal information sources are the most frequent initial source of news; and more important events are learned through personal communication rather than through the mass media.[50]

The general importance of the story affected how many people heard of the event, and whether they heard from interpersonal or mass media sources. The general importance, however, did not appear to affect the telling of others. Somewhat surprisingly, while the importance of the story affected how a person heard the news, it did not affect whether a person told others of the news. This result could be attributable to one of three causes. First, while the first question asked about where the respondent first heard the news, the second asked whether he or she had talked to others about the news. That is, the importance of the story may speed up the diffusion, but not necessarily change a persons rate of talking to others. People may, for example, simply be more likely to say, "Did you hear..." much more quickly for important news than for less important news. Second, this effect may be due to the number of opinion leaders relative to the number of "hearers." Diffusion of news may rest on a few people who monitor the news media and pass important information on to quite a few others. If this were the case, a random sample would show that while a majority of respondents heard important news from opinion leaders, the majority of hearers' conversations were with other non opinion leaders. In this scenario, people may be more likely to hear important news from opinion leaders, but no more likely to converve with fellow consumers about important then non-important news. Third, it is possible this finding is due to differing judgements of news value. Opinion leaders judgment of news value may be closer to that of the *New York Times* while hearers' may have a different perspective of what is important.

While these findings are somewhat consistent with Katz and Lazarsfeld's "two-step" flow hypothesis,[51] they are not confirming. Specifically, although almost 50% of the public in many studies were informed by word-of-mouth, confirmation would require evidence of particularly active informants. The critical observation, then, is that these previous studies couldn't have provided evidence to support Katz and Lazarsfeld's theory when using the community as the level of analysis. Such studies do not provide information on the behavior of individuals. For while interpersonal communication was found to be important, this study does not test whether particular individuals provided a link to others. Specifically, we do not know whether there were informants who heard the information directly from the mass media and passed that information on to others. So while interpersonal communication appears to pass stories with high news value through communication networks, it is not clear whether this effect depends on a person's activity in gathering and disseminating the news. So although the results of our meta-analysis do not necessarily support the two-step hypothesis, they are not incompatible, either. Without knowing whether people learned important news information from the mass media and then served as informants, it is not possible to either support or challenge the two-step hypothesis. To test the two-step flow hypothesis, data must indicate whether people hear or seek the news from a mass media source and pass it on to other individuals. The process should be broken down into its components. The influence of individuals in the news diffusion process is examined in the next study.

Study 2: Individuals in the two-step flow

There are two key distinctions between studying the news diffusion process at the community versus individual levels of analysis. First, the importance of the story may be distinctly different in importance to different individuals. Second, the investigation of specific behaviors of individuals can be examined. Each of these will be discussed in greater detail below.

In the previous study, some stories were more important than others. That is, news value varied across stories. While Katz and Lazarsfeld's is focsued on personal influence, news diffusion theories have used the two-step flow model to examine diffusion of news[52]. According to this approach, a story's general importance from the personal relevance of that story to individuals. An important story is an important story. The news value of the story, in turn, determines both the rate and extent of news diffusion within a social system. This assumption is the basis of the agenda setting hypothesis, that what the media pumps as important becomes important in the public's eye.[53] The previous study, however, showed that while people we more likely to hear important stories from others, they were more likely to pass on that information. If people act as both hearers and passers, how is this possible? One potential explanation is that the judgments of newsworthiness differs. More recent research in other areas has shown that information which is relevant to a person is more likely to generate uncertainty and information seeking.[54] As a result, an individual's judgement of relevance is likely more important than that of a news organization in causing them to pay attention to particular news events.[55] For this reason, people who judge an event to be relevant should be more likely to seek additional information.[56] Information seeking also may also depend on the social utility of that information. People watch television shows that will facilitate later communication.[57] This effect also occurs for news events.[58] Therefore, people who have an interest in a news event should be more likely to pass along that information to others than people who do not consider the news event to be relevant.[59] People are more likely to inform others about personally relevant news events than they are about less relevant news events[60]. As Larsen and Hill[61] observed, "It may be suggested that the degree of interpersonal communication is a function of the interest value of a given news event." Information from the media appears to affect what people discuss in their interpersonal networks.[62] This study, then, will investigate varying levels of personal relevance within a particular story, but across members of the audience.

As we observed in the previous meta-analysis, it is also essential to distinguish hearing and telling this information. When we break apart the diffusion process into these discrete steps, we arrive at two distinct relationships. DeFleur[63] contends that the two-step flow hypothesis may be inappropriate in explaining the diffusion process. Unlike the decision to adopt an innovation, DeFleur does not think opinion leaders represent the critical step in the diffusion of the news.[64] We propose that there is a critical step in the diffusion of news. That step lies between the reception of news and its transmission. While, hearing about unanticipated events may occur by chance, seeking additional information and telling that information is a planned activity.[65] The decision to seek information and whether to talk to others about a news event is the active outcome of the two-step flow model.[66] When people hear of an event, they then decide whether to seek more information or whether to pass that information on. This decision is made by each individual in the process.

To test the expected relationships we have outlined, a new study was prepared. The study was implemented with a news event for which some members of the public were more likely than other members to judge the event "newsworthy."

On November 7, 1991, Earvin "Magic" Johnson, a famous basketball player for the Los Angeles Lakers, announced his infection with the virus believed to cause AIDS. As a consequence, Johnson announced his retirement from the Lakers during a press conference in Los Angeles. It was expected that this story about Magic contracting the virus would be more personally relevant to basketball fans than non-fans. Because a higher proportion of men are basketball fans than women, this news story was also expected to be more personally relevant to men than to women.

While hearing factors may be affected by chance, a determinant of the transmission of information is predicted to be the personal relevance of that information to the teller. When a news item is judged as relevant, it should be more likely to be passed on to others.[67] Men and Magic Johnson fans should be more likely to be connected to networks of men and fans than women and non-fans. As a result, they should be more likely to hear the news of Johnson's positive HIV blood test than women and non-fans. Therefore, we proposed the following hypothesis:

H4: Men and Magic Johnson fans will be more likely to hear the news about Magic Johnson's positive HIV blood test from interpersonal sources than women and non-Magic Johnson fans.

Uncertainly reduction theories suggest that people seek confirmation of questionable information.[68] Therefore, people who learned the news about Johnson from interpersonal communication sources should be more likely to seek confirmation of the news through the mass media then people who learned directly from the mass media.[69] Therefore, we proposed the following hypothesis:

> H5: People who learn the news about Magic Johnson's positive HIV blood test from interpersonal sources will be more likely to seek additional information in the mass media than people who learn the news directly from the mass media.

Because of the additional relevance of this information, information seeking theory[70] predicts that:

> H6: Men and Magic Johnson fans will be more likely to seek additional information about Magic Johnson's positive HIV condition from all information sources than women and non-fans.

According to Katz and Lazarsfeld's two-step flow hypothesis, people who learned from the mass media should be more likely to pass on this information. From this expectation, we predicted that:

> H7: People who learn the news about Magic Johnson's positive HIV blood test directly from the mass media will be more likely passed on to other people than people who learn from interpersonal sources.

Also according to the two-step flow hypothesis, we also predicted:

> H8: When people learn the news about Magic Johnson's positive HIV blood test directly from the mass media, it will be passed on to a greater number of people than when it is learned from interpersonal sources.

Concerning passing the news, when a news item is judged as relevant, it should be more likely to be passed on to others.[71] Therefore, we proposed the following hypothesis:

> H9: Men and Magic Johnson fans will be more likely to pass on the news about Magic Johnson's HIV positive condition to others than are women and non-fans.

Relatedly, we also predicted that:

> H10: Men and Magic Johnson fans will pass on the news about Magic Johnson's HIV positive condition to more people than are women and non-fans.

Method

Eleven days after the Magic Johnson's announcement, starting November 18, 1991, we collected data on knowledge of this news event. A convenience sample of 18 Speech classes was selected at a large University in the western United States. Three hundred and ninety-one college students participated for extra credit. Two hundred and twenty-five (58%) were female and one hundred and sixty-three (42%) were male. The age range was 17 to 50. The median age was 22.0.

We asked a total of 67 questions[72]. Diffusion items asked respondents if they knew of Magic's announcement, when and when they heard the news, whether they tried to get additional information and from what sources, and how many people they had talked to about Magic Johnson getting the virus. To asses the personal relevance of the story, items asked about the AIDS issue, knowledge of and exposure to Magic Johnson, and knowledge of people with AIDS. News source items asked about news media use. We also collected demographic information.

We dichotomized the source of the original information to indicate whether the original source of information was from interpersonal or mass communication channels. Eleven items measured personal relevance by assessing whether respondents liked Magic Johnson and how often they had read something about him or seen him play or speak. We subjected these items to a confirmatory factor analysis. A single relevance factor emerged. Therefore, we constructed an index of these items and dichotomized the index at the median.

Of course, students may not be representative of the population as a whole, because of their restricted age range and the relevance of AIDS information. However, they should be expected to show less variance in relevance than a representative sample. In addition, students may be more attune to current events than working adults. As a result, this reduces the likelihood of finding the hypothesized relationships. This method, therefore, is a conservative test of these hypotheses.

Results

Univariate analyses

At the time of the study, 80%, or 314, respondents reported hearing the news of Magic Johnson's HIV infection on the first day. Comparing this event with Table 1, this news event was comparable to the launch of Explorer[73] and President Eisenhower's stroke.[74] The news of Magic Johnson's HIV diagnosis appears to have been a medium-large news story. Ninety-nine percent (386/391) of respondents reported having heard the news by the time of the study. This also indicated a relatively important story.

Forty-two percent (161/386) of respondents reported learning the information from interpersonal sources. Comparing this rate with Table 2, the rate of learning from interpersonal sources puts Magic Johnson's infection in the high-middle range of interpersonal information as a source of news.

Seventy-four percent (277/382) of respondents reported seeking additional information. Compared to Table 3, this puts the Magic Johnson story in the middle range of rates of seeking additional information.

Seventy-five percent (286/382) of respondents reported having told others of the news that day. Comparing this rate with Table 4 reveals that this event was a fairly-highly told news story.

These results suggest that the Magic Johnson story was fairly important. Compared with the previous studies of news diffusion, this story was more similar to important stories such as assassinations than to less important stories such as papal encyclicals. These results suggest that this story would be appropriate for testing the process of news diffusion. It would allow us to investigate news sources, information seeking, and the passing of the information to others. These factors could be related not to general importance, but to personal relevance.

Bivariate analyses and hypotheses

Hypothesis 4 predicted that men and Magic Johnson fans are more likely to have heard the news about Magic Johnson from interpersonal sources than did women and non-fans. This was true for men ($X^2 = 5.08$, $p < .05$), but not for fans ($X^2 = 1.17$, n.s.).

Hypothesis 5, which predicted that people who learned the news through interpersonal communication sources are more likely to have sought additional information than people who learned directly through the mass media, was supported by the results ($X^2 = 14.8$, $p < .001$). In Hypothesis 6, we predicted that men and Magic Johnson fans are more likely to have sought additional information about Magic Johnson's HIV condition than women and non-Magic Johnson fans. This was not true for men ($X^2 = 1.27$, n.s.), but was true for fans ($X^2 = 36.9$, $p < .001$).

Hypothesis 7 predicted that when a news item was learned directly from the mass media, it was more likely passed on to other people. This prediction was not supported ($X^2 = .15$, n.s.). Hypothesis 8 predicted that when a news item was learned directly from the mass media, it would be passed on to a greater number of people. This hypothesis was not supported. There was no significant difference between people hearing from the mass media or through interpersonal communication ($t = 1.92$, n.s.).

Hypothesis 9 predicted that men and Magic Johnson fans were more likely to pass on the news about Magic Johnson to others than were women and non-Magic Johnson fans. Both hypotheses were supported. Eight-two percent (133/163) of men versus seventy percent of women (159/225) told others of the news ($X^2 = 6.06$, $p < .05$). An even larger discrepancy, 84 percent of Magic Johnson fans (152/179) versus 62 percent of non-fans (112/178) told others of the news ($X^2 = 22.4$, $p < .001$). Hypothesis 10, which predicted that men and Magic Johnson fans passed on information about Johnson's HIV condition to more people than women and non-Magic Johnson fans, was also supported. Men told an average of 2.9 others about the news while women told an average of 1.8 others. This difference was significant ($t = 4.06$, $p < .001$). Similarly, fans told an average of 3.0 others while non-fans told an average of 1.5 others. This difference was also significant ($t = 6.6$, $p < .001$).

Discussion

We expected that the personal relevance of information would determine where a person heard the information (Hypotheses 4). This hypothesis was supported for men as opposed to women, but not for fans as opposed to non-fans. In fast-breaking stories that occur during the workday, people may be more tapped into work groups than close friends. Men may have been more tapped into other men. More sense will be made of this finding when we discuss passing the information.

Credibility factors associated with interpersonal sources, led to an uncertainty prediction that people learning through interpersonal sources would be more likely to seek confirmation than those learning through the mass media (Hypothesis 5). Also, because of the greater relevance of the information, men and fans would be more likely to seek additional information (Hypothesis 6). Results support both hypotheses. The results from Hypothesis 6 suggest, however, that being a fan is a more critical predictor of seeking information than being a man. With hindsight, the information seems more relevant for fans than for men. These findings, therefore, seem entirely consistent with the uncertainty principle in news information seeking.

This finding is in accord with previous research that has found people informed of the unanticipated events through interpersonal channels were more likely to turn to radio or television for confirmation.[75] Previous research has also shown that interested parties are more likely to seek additional information about news events.[76] These findings, however, contrast with two other studies of anticipated events. First, specialists were not significantly more likely to seek confirmation of an anticipated successful heart transplant than non-specialists.[77] Second, older respondents were no more likely to seek confirmation of the expected death of ex-President Eisenhower than younger respondents.[78] It appears possible, then, that it is these unexpected events that require verification.

The two-step flow hypothesis led us to predict that people learning through the mass media would be more likely to pass the information on to others and to more people (Hypotheses 6 and 7). Neither of these two tests supported the two-step flow, however. Instead, the source of the information appears unrelated to whom one tells of the news. The two-step flow hypothesis does not appear to hold for the source of the information. There does not appear to be such a clear monitoring and passing function for unanticpated events.

We also expected that the personal relevance of information would determine whether a person passed on the information to others and to how many others they would pass it (Hypotheses 9 & 10). Both of these hypotheses received support. It appears, however, that men are more likely than fans to hear the news from others. Passers of news may find it easier to identify "men" than to identify "fans." It also appears that while men are more likely to pass on the information about Magic Johnson, Magic's fans are especially likely to do so. The information is probably more relevant to the typical fan than to the typical man. The results validate the influence of personal relevance. Personal releveance, then, may provide an important link in who plays "opinion leader" for unanticipated events.

Previous research in this area has produced six conflicting outcomes to the two-step flow model. First, people hear from mass media and turn to interpersonal communication.[79] Second, people may hear from mass communication, and turn to interpersonal communication, but not necessarily to pass the news on.[80] Third, the original source may not affect interpersonal communication.[81] Fourth, people hear from one mass medium and turn to another.[82] Fifth, people may hear from interpersonal sources and turn to mass media.[83] Finally, those informed through interpersonal sources are more likely to talk to others.[84] The lack of a relationship between the source and who is told suggests that mass media and interpersonal communication are more temporally interwoven than the two-step hypothesis suggests.

These findings diverge somewhat from previous research. Specifically, other research has shown that a person's interest in a topic appears to affect the hearing of information on a topic.[85] In this situation, however, the news was unexpected. Information seeking does not appear as viable an explanation as accidentally hearing it. It seems less likely that people would be as able to determine whether they hear the news. Rather, the personal relevance of the news determines the probability of seeking additional information.[86] More significant to this study, then, a person's interest appears to affect the passing of that information to others.[87] If a person feels the news information is personally relevant, that person is more likely to pass it on to others. When a person feels that the information is personally relevant they also are more likely to pass on that information to a greater number of people. These results are compatible with a rethinking of the two-step flow hypothesis.

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Conclusions

The present findings validate the importance of individuals in the diffusion of news. Specifically, the process of news diffusion appears to hinge on whether a story is personally relevant to the person who hears the news. When it is, people are more likely to pass the news on to others. When it isn't, people are less likely to talk about the story.

Both studies produced similar results. The first study found that there is a positive relationship between the importance of a story and the level to which the information diffuses. There is also a positive relationship between the importance of the story and the probability that the source was interpersonal. The second study found that the personal relevance of the issue affects the interpersonal diffusion of the news. Both findings show that individuals play a consequential role in the diffusion of news.

The first study did not find a relationship between the importance and whether people tell others about the news. Relatedly, the second study did not find any relationship between the source of the news and either its likelihood of its being passed on to others or the number of others whom a person tells. Where the information comes from does not affect what happens afterwards.

It seems likely that a person's source of news is determined by a variety of factors. First, there are chance factors including the person's location (at home, at work, in the car) or the time of day (during the evening news).[88] Second, other factors include an individual's interpersonal communication networks, and how relevant the previous person in the diffusion chain judges the news to be. If a person in a communication network thinks a news story is not very relevant, then the diffusion process can slow down or break down within that network. Significantly, a person does not decide whether he or she will hear a particular piece of news. Where people receive news information does not necessarily affect whether they tell others or how many others they tell. This finding contrasts with theories of a two-step flow.[89] In the Magic Johnson news story, because men were more likely to network with other Magic Johnson fans, they were more likely to hear the news from an interpersonal information source than women.

It is an individual's judgment of the importance of a news event that determines how many others one tells about the news. Fans judged the information as relevant, while non-fans judged it as less relevant. Fans, therefore, were more likely to tell the information to others while non-fans were not. When each person receives news information, he or she decides whether to pass the information on to others based on the relative importance of the news event. When judgments of newsworthiness differ, so do the rates of diffusing the news to others.[90]

These findings expand previous speculation as to the process of news diffusion and agenda setting[91] and news use and knowledge.[92] We feel that these findings demonstrate the importance of studying news diffusion among individuals. News diffusion is a process that takes place within a community over time. By looking inside the community we can understand its exact workings better. From the outside the people ar the process may appear homogeneous. When we investigate individual differences, the dynamics of the news diffusion process are revealed.[93]

For both journalism and communication theory, these differences are meaningful. The diffusion of a story is not determined by a newsroom's judgment of its importance, but rather how each hearer judges its relevance[94]. News diffusion is not imposed by some outside authority, but rather determined by people for themselves. While a person's interest affects seeking additional information,[95] some of this interest may depend on its utility for later discussion.[96] More significantly, these interest factors also affect the consequences of use.[97] Interest affects discussion.

The importance of interest in an issue explains why, despite the good intentions of journalists and health campaign designers, audiences are sometimes "obstinate." When people don't feel an issue is relevant they don't pass it on or talk about it with others.[98] Without discussion, the issue dies. This finding, then, offers some support for the "spiral of silence" theory of news diffusion.[99]

Some campaigns, basing their approach on the Peace Corps, have attempted to get around this obstacle by including change agents in the community. This research suggests why this approach may succeed. The presence of someone "talking up" the issue may spread it to others. It may be through this process that "agenda setting" operates. Hearing an issue discussed may suggest to people that, "It must be important, all these people are talking about it." Interpersonal discussion, therefore, may also play a role in the agenda-setting process.[100] Further research should examine this possibility.

In summary, mass media and interpersonal communication appear to be more interwoven than the two-step flow hypothesis suggests. People make use of information in the mass media based on their interests. What we see affects what we talk about.[101] This link, however, depends on our judgments of the personal relevance of a news story. Information seeking also appears to depend on the utility of the information for later discussion.[102] These relationships deserve further investigation as outcomes of the agenda setting process.[103] These findings also suggest a viable method for examining the "spiral of silence" theory.[104]

Footnotes

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45. Spitzer & Spitzer, op cit., 1964.

46. All three analyses were also run using column inches in *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*. Despite the smaller sample size, results were consistent with the hypotheses reported here. The correlations were .44 (p <.05), .70 (p <.001), and .52 (n.s.), respectively.

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TABLE 1:
News stories and diffusion levels

RESEARCHER[s] and (YEAR)	EVENT		# OF NEWS STORIES	% IN 24 HOURS	% INTER-PERSONAL	% SEEKING ADDTL INFO	% WHO TOLD OTHERS
Miller (1945)	FDR's death		18	> 91	85	-	71
Bogart (1950)	Local girl on TV		-	-	21	-	55
Larsen & Hill (1954)	Sen. Taft's death		7	> 50	26	54	82
Danielson (1956)	"Ike's" candidacy		4	> 96	20	94	-
Medelia & Larson (1958)	Window pitting		-	-	19	-	-
Deutschmann & Danielson (1960)	Eisenhower stroke		9	95	18	100	76
	Explorer launch	Lansing	5	93	23	89	68
		Madison	5	93	13	97	68
		Palo Alto	5	100	10	100	68
	Alaska statehood	Lansing	5	89	15	88	54
		Madison	5	90	2	76	54
Banta (1964)	JFK's assassination		20	> 82	76	-	-
Greenberg (1964a)	JFK's assasin-ation	Early	20	100	50	-	98
		Late	20	100	68	-	98
Greenberg (1964b)	3 low diffusion events		-	19	10	-	-
	3 low-med diffusion events		-	32	2	-	-
	7 medium diffusion events		-	74	4	-	-
	4 med-hi diffusion events		-	92	9	-	-
Hill & Bonjean (1964)	JFK's assassination		20	98	57	-	-
Mendelsohn (1964)	JFK's assassination		20	-	32	-	-

RESEARCHER[s] and (YEAR)	EVENT		# OF NEWS STORIES	% IN 24 HOURS	% INTER-PERSONAL	% SEEKING ADDTL INFO	% WHO TOLD OTHERS
Sheatsley & Feldman (1964)	JFK's assassination		20	100	49	95	-
Greenberg et al. (1965)	Clay-Liston boxing match		4	< 94	8	97	> 84
Spitzer & Spitzer (1965)	JFK's assassination		20	100	55	82	64
	Oswald's assassination		10	100	29	47	38
Budd et al. (1966)	Eisenhower's stroke		9	89	55	-	-
	Khruschchev's ouster		6	97	19	-	-
	Jenkins' arrest		3	72	3	-	-
Allen & Colfax (1968)	LBJ's non-candidacy		4	87	5	-	87
Adams et al. (1969)	Pope's Encyclical		3	35?	2	15	18
O'Keefe (1969)	1st heart transplant		3	< 94	6	15	80
Funkhouser & McCombs (1971)	Stanford heart transplant		4	85	-	-	-
	Ohio prison riot		1	30	-	-	-
	Fortas nomination		3	67	-	-	-
	Discovery of *Scorpion*		1	40	-	-	-
	Nixon draft announcement		4	40	-	-	-
O'Keefe & Kissel (1971)	Eisenhower's death		24	< 91	22	19	49
Fathi (1973)	Trudeau's marriage		2	75	17	15	75
Hanneman & Greenberg (1973)	Papal Encyclical	Minor	3	-	11	16	17
		Major	2	-	17	23	25
O'Keefe & Spetnagel (1973)	China's UN admission		17	-	10	-	-
	Arrest of veterans		1	-	8	-	-
Ostlund (1973)	McGovern & Eagleton		9	-	15	-	100
Schwartz (1973)	Wallace's shooting		12	> 98	27-44	81	-

RESEARCHER[s] and (YEAR)	EVENT	# OF NEWS STORIES	% IN 24 HOURS	% INTER-PERSONAL	% SEEKING ADDTL INFO	% WHO TOLD OTHERS
Steinfatt et al. (1973)	Wallace's shooting	12	> 91	70	46	50
Fine (1975)	Agnew's resignation	22	> 50	73	-	-
Haroldsen & Harvey (1979)	Black Mormon priests	4	94	53	51	-
Bantz et al. (1983)	Reagan shooting	25	> 85	58	-	< 55
Gantz (1983)	Reagan shooting	25	100	45	90	47
Hudson & Miller (1983)	Reagan shooting	25	> 94	59	> 75	-
Weaver-Lariscy et al. (1984)	Reagan shooting	25	96	41	70	21
	Pope shooting	27	87	45	72	29
Mayer et al. (1990)	Challenger explosion	36	>93	51	-	59

Appendix A: Sample questions

The following questions are about your response to Magic Johnson's recent announcement that he tested positive for HIV infection. Please mark your response on the blank lines to the left of each question.

When did you first hear the news that Magic Johnson has the HIV virus?
___ 1. November 7th (Thursday), the day of his news conference
___ 2. November 8th (Friday), a day after the news broke
___ 3. November 9th (Saturday), two days later
___ 4. November 10th (Sunday)
___ 5. November 11th (Monday)
___ 6. November 12th (Tuesday)
___ 7. November 13th (Wednesday)
___ 8. After November 14th (Thursday), a week later

Who did you first hear the news from?
___ 1. I just heard right now
___ 2. I heard it on the radio
___ 3. I heard it on television
___ 4. I read it in a newspaper
___ 5. a friend told me
___ 6 an acquaintance told me
___ 7. a stranger told me

After you heard, did you try to get any additional information?
___ 1. No, I didn't
___ 2. I turned on the radio
___ 3. I turned on the television
___ 4. I bought a newspaper
___ 5. I asked a friend
___ 6. I asked an acquaintance
___ 7. I asked a stranger

___ When you heard, how many people did you tell that same day?

___ How many people have you talked to about Magic Johnson getting the HIV virus?

___ How many people do you think you discussed the AIDS issue with in the four week period before you heard about Magic Johnson?

___ How many times have you seen Magic Johnson play basketball (on TV)?

___ The number of times you have heard Magic Johnson speak on TV is:

___ The number of times you have read something about Magic Johnson is:

___ Your age is:

Your cultural orientation predominantly is:
___ 1. Asian
___ 2. North American
___ 3. Pacific Islander
___ 4. Other

RADICAL RULES:
I.F. STONE'S ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE

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RUNNING HEAD: STONE'S ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE

RADICAL RULES:

I.F. STONE'S ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE

With the death of I.F. Stone in 1989, journalism lost one of its most incisive and incendiary observers. For more than 50 years Stone worked as a self-proclaimed "radical reporter," savaging every presidential administration since FDR, searching out uncovered stories, and berating the establishment press for its laziness and acquiescence. His newsletter, I.F. Stone's Weekly, was a flammable mixture of political reporting and media criticism.

At the basis of Stone's reporting and criticism was a passionate and provocative set of standards -- an ethical framework -- that served as context for his own work as well as his critique of the press. At Stone's death, New York Times writer Tom Wicker (1989, p. A23) paid homage to Stone's standards and said Stone exemplified "validated, independent, searching, skeptical journalism unbeholden to official statements by official institutions." Victor Navasky of the Nation called Stone "an inspiration to a generation of journalists" and added, "he'll be a role model for journalists in the foreseeable future" (Scaduto, 1989, p. 2).

A long-time student of Greek thought, Stone's ethical standards were derived from a rich mixture of classical philosophy and practical, professional concerns. Kant's categorical imperative, "Act only on that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law," serves as the classical model for Stone's approach to ethics (Kant, 1964, p. 69). This classical model then was invoked for journalism by Stone's evocation of universal and unconditional principles based on reverence for duty, responsibility to the craft, and unflagging faith in the power of words. "A perpetual crusade," he called being a journalist (1989a, p. xx). "When I was a boy, my picture of what a newspaperman should be was compounded of Galahad, Don Quixote, and William Randolph Hearst," he said (1988b, p. xviii). And he held fellow journalists to the same ideals.

The purpose of this essay is to isolate and examine Stone's conception of journalism ethics, and to comprehend and critique the complex, sometimes paradoxical, perspectives of this life-long journalist who was also a determined press critic. Drawing on a close reading of Stone's work, secondary sources, interviews in numerous publications, and conversations held shortly before his death, the essay organizes and examines four primary ethical concerns in Stone's writings: the pursuit of news, power, profit and freedom of expression. Then, after situating Stone's ethics within a broader context of ethical theory, the essay considers limitations of Stone's approach, which lead, finally, to a larger discussion of the most appropriate sites for media studies and ethical criticism.

BACKGROUND

Isidor "Izzy" Feinstein was writing and reporting before he was out of high school. Born in 1907, raised and schooled in Haddonfield, N.J., he steeped himself early in politics and poetry, opting for the radical writings of Jack London, Marx, Engels and Kropotkin. At 14 he was publishing his own paper of poetry and political criticism (1989a, p. xvi). He attended the University of Pennsylvania through junior year, while working afternoons and evenings on the copy desk of the Philadelphia Inquirer and Philadelphia Record. He left college at the age of 20. A life-long proponent of socialism, he worked for numerous left-wing publications including P.M., the New York Star, the New York Daily Compass, and the Nation.

Socialist and Jew, he occupied a discomfiting political niche. In 1937, with the birth of his third child, mindful of the anti-Semitism that surrounded him, he legally changed his name to I.F. Stone. "We were all afraid of Hitler and what was coming," he said (Polman, 1988), "and I thought there should be a non-Jewish name on the birth certificate." It was a change that was to bother him for years after. "I had given in, made an accommodation."

In 1952, Stone's paper, the New York Daily Compass, went under. Out of work in the Washington of Joe McCarthy, Stone created his own outlet of political and press criticism: I.F. Stone's Weekly, inspired by George Seldes' four-page newsletter, In Fact, published a decade earlier. Stone charged $5 a year and never raised the price. He started with 5,000 subscribers, "a scattered tiny minority of liberals and radicals unafraid in McCarthy's heyday to support, and go on the mailing list of, a new radical publication from Washington" (1989a, p. xvii). Readers eventually included Albert Einstein, U Thant, Eleanor Roosevelt and Arthur Miller.

His approach was critical, analytical and interpretive. Rather than relying upon administrative and official sources, Stone sought out the records of official Washington. Documents in hand, he confronted McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI, CIA, and the Supreme Court, as well as America's commitment to civil rights and U.S. involvement in Korea and Vietnam. And he persistently critiqued the failings of the nation's so-called liberal press.

Stone published the Weekly from 1953 to 1971, although a heart condition forced him at times to go bi-weekly. The newsletter was reaching 70,000 subscribers in its last year, but Stone could not continue the daily grind. Instead, he contributed to the New York Review of Books and the Nation, and put in 10 years of labor on his best-selling book, The Trial of Socrates. Even in this classical study, Stone still saw himself as a newspaperman, a reporter covering "a trial that was held almost twenty-four hundred years ago" (Stone, 1988c, p. 4). He questioned Plato's assertion that Socrates was sentenced to death for urging Athenians to be virtuous and instead argued that Socrates was seen as a threat to national security. He taught himself ancient Greek so he could support his argument with untranslated works.

Stone then began an even larger project -- an historical study of freedom of thought in human society. The work is undone. On June 17, 1989, Stone died of a heart attack at the age of 81. Journalism lost a radical voice and devout critic. The following sections isolate and examine his four primary ethical interests: the pursuit of news, power, profit and freedom of expression.

ETHICS AND THE PURSUIT OF NEWS

Perhaps Stone's primary concern focused on the ethics of newsgathering. His stance was formed from a quilted combination of Kantian principles and professional practice. He had an insider's understanding of the pressures of the trade, but retained strong ideals that protested surrender or sacrifice. In particular, Stone was wary of traditional conventions, such as press conferences, news releases, leaks and interviews, that allowed sources to control information and forced reporters to rely on those in power. Such practices, for Stone, were ethically flawed as well as professionally unsound. He offered thoughtful, effective alternatives that included textual analysis and historical research. "As I see myself," Stone said ("I.F. Stone," 1976, p. 535), "I tried to bring the instincts of a scholar to the service of journalism; to take nothing for granted; to turn journalism into literature; to provide radical analysis with a conscientious concern for accuracy."

With this perspective, then, Stone lashed out at any practice that might compromise the integrity and independence of the reporter. He derided press conferences; real information, he said, would come from conversations with workers in the "bowels of the bureaucracy" (Wiessler, 1988, p. 1). He argued that interviews with higher officials should be approached as confrontations not as fishing expeditions or "exclusives" bequeathed from the privileged. And, he said, interviews should be the culmination of research and analysis. Only after information was collected and research documented should reporters confront those in power. He described this aspect of his method in more colloquial terms (Patner, 1988, p. 101): "You can't sit on their lap and ask them to feed you secrets -- then they'll just give you a lot of crap. But if you're boned up in advance on a story and have good questions, they'll respect you for your professionalism. And many of them would rather tell the truth than lie. If you can ask questions that really pin them down you can learn quite a lot."

A fierce proponent of research and documentation, he disliked the categorizing of some reporters as investigative reporters, and detested the term "muckraker," calling it "that invidious term for critical and independent journalism" (1988b, p. ix; I.F. Stone, personal communication, March 24, 1989). Both practices, he said, seemed to relegate to a few select cases or people the kind of reporting in which all journalists should engage.

Newsgathering should be not only independent and fully documented, Stone believed, but also well grounded in history and cultural context. Even reporters whose work he respected failed to pass this test. Reviewing the work of Vietnam war correspondents David Halberstam and Malcolm Browne, he said their stories were "marked by a characteristic intentness on the moment. The idea that the past may help explain the present appears only rarely. There is no time for study, and American editors do not encourage the type of journalism in depth which distinguishes Le Monde or the Neue Zuricher Zeitung" (1989b, p. 313). Without history or context, Stone argued, journalists could not distinguish the significant from the ephemeral. He once told Halberstam that the Washington Post was "an exciting paper to read because you never know on what page you would find a page-one story" (Patner, 1988, p. 17).

His own approach was instructive. Stone began from and primarily worked with documents: proceedings, transcripts, hearings, and other sources in the hard-copy capital. Bruce Cumings (1988, p. xii), an historian at the University of Chicago, has called the method a kind of "Washingtonology." He noted that at first Stone's method looked deceptively simple. The task of inquiry simply was, "following Stone, of subjecting the available literature -- newspapers, books, official documents -- to a careful, critical reading." He found: "Instead one discovers that his method is difficult. Not that close reading is necessarily hard; no, there is something else that is hard: to disabuse oneself of received wisdom is hard, as it bombards you in various forms; to find and ask unasked questions is hard; to confront authority is hard. The hardest thing is to tell the truth, because desire hinders perception and quashes memory."

In part, Stone developed this method because of personal handicaps. For much of his life, unknown to many readers, he suffered from poor eyesight and could hear only with the help of cumbersome hearing aids. He was lost at large press conferences. It was easier for him to spend time alone on the paper trail.

Professional motives and ethical concerns also structured Stone's method. His approach allowed him to rely on his own reporting and not the machinations of anonymous sources or managed press briefings. "I tried to give information which could be documented so the reader could check it for himself," he wrote (1989a, p. xvii-iii). Accuracy and documentation were essential to reporting that would contradict administration sources as well as the established press. In his history of the Korean War, Stone said (1988a, p. xxi), "Writing in an atmosphere much like that of a full war, I realized from the beginning that I could be persuasive only if I utilized material which could not be challenged by those who accept the official American government point of view."

Stone was uncomfortable even with the Freedom of Information Act. "I'm a reporter from a previous era, and the idea of getting a story by suing the government has always struck me as a kind of baby operation," he said (Wiessler, 1988, p. 1). "A really good reporter shouldn't have to file a suit and wait for months for a judge to unlock the drawer for him."

It was the approach, really, of a scholar. "One source of Stone's perspective on the United States lay in his knowledge of other histories and cultures, in his skills as an intellectual," Robert Sklar has noted (1988, p. xi-xii). "It is precisely because he is an intellectual that Stone's old articles seem to grow in value over the years. He is a historian, a philosopher, a man of letters, who decided to exercise his talents on the public affairs of his day. His articles create a sense of depth, of landscape, of historical setting, that is very rare in American journalism." The Christian Science Monitor (Maddocks, 1967) said, "The general approach of I.F. Stone is to treat world history with the disenchantment a good city hall reporter brings to city hall."

Through this conception of newsgathering, Stone put forth his ideals for the ethical and independent journalist. At Stone's death, the New York Times, the brunt of much Stone criticism, editorialized that Stone "showed younger journalists how to develop stories without kowtowing to the powerful and how to write incisively without resort to cliches" ("I.F. Stone's Legacy," 1989, p. A22). Sol Stern said ("I.F. Stone," 1976, p. 535), "Stone's weekly might be read as a primer for working Washington journalists, telling them where they went wrong each week."

ETHICS AND THE PURSUIT OF POWER

Stone also saw ethical difficulties arising from the symbiotic relationship that developed between the press and those in power. He loathed the beholden coupling of sources and reporters in the capital, and was harsh in his criticism of those in the press who yielded to power in pursuit of power. Becoming too close to those in power, he said, endangered the journalist's duty. "No bureaucracy likes an independent newspaperman," he wrote (1989a, p. xx). "Whether capitalist or communist, democratic or authoritarian, every regime does it best to color and control the flow of news in its favor." He saw the press as adversary and advocate and spoke with passion of "fulfilling a newspaperman's duty to the First Amendment" (Stone, 1978, p. 55). It was a solemn duty for Stone. He saw newspaper work as "being part of a historic procession, of keeping alive the best of our country's traditions, of being in the line of descent, however humbly, from the great Americans of the past" (p. 55).

Stone was shrewd enough to see that ethical dangers were built into the traditional convention of beat reporting, especially in the nation's capital. "The reporter assigned to specific beats like the State Department or the Pentagon for a wire service or a big daily newspaper soon finds himself a captive," Stone said (1989a, p. xviii). "There are many ways to punish a reporter who gets out of line; if a big story breaks at 3 a.m., the press office may neglect to notify him while his rivals get the story. There are as many ways to flatter and take a reporter into camp."

Elsewhere, he said more suggestively (MacDougall, 1970), "You've really got to wear a chastity belt in Washington to preserve your journalistic virginity. Once the Secretary of State invites you to lunch and asks your opinion, you're sunk." He added, "Establishment reporters undoubtedly know a lot of things I don't. But a lot of what they know isn't true."

Stone was enough of an insider to see the relationships develop, and enough of an outsider to reject them. "I remember in the early 1930s," he said (Patner, 1988, pp. 104-05), "the New York Times was awful. You look back in the files, you'll see what I'm talking about. Richard V. Oulihan was the chief Washington correspondent. He used to play medicine ball with Herbert Hoover every morning at the White House. That's enough to kill off a good reporter. Not because it was medicine ball. But you cannot get intimate with officials and maintain your independence. No matter whether they are good guys or bad guys. Don't get intimate with them or you lose your independence and they'll use you."

Stone placed responsibility for ethical compromises squarely on the shoulders of the press. In one essay, he applauded James Reston of the New York Times who said that even more dangerous than suppression of the news was the management of news by government sources. Stone, though, would not let the press escape blame. "'The news is managed,'" he said (1989a, p. 175), "because the reporters and their editors let themselves be managed." He went on, "As a reporter who began by covering small towns, where one really has to dig for the news, I can testify that Washington is in many ways one of the easiest cities in the world to cover. The problem is the abundance of riches. It is true that the Government, like every other government in the world, does its best to distort the news in its favor -- but that only makes the job more interesting" (p. 176).

To illustrate his points, he often pinpointed evidence of managed news in the establishment press. With careful reading and scathing insights, he traced the hand of news management in a spate of reports in the 1950s that prepared the public for nuclear war. Within six months, he found, the Associated Press, Saturday Evening Post, U.S. News & World Report, Life, and other publications ran stories such as, "How You Can Survive Fallout: 97 Out of 100 People Can Be Saved." "As if orchestrated out of Washington," Stone said (1989a, p. 314), "mass circulation media are beginning to condition the public mind for nuclear war." He saw similar capitulation and news management when Truman hinted he might use nuclear weapons during the Korean War. Stone was disgusted when the news media blithely reported Truman's reasons without independent checking. "To look back at the news reports of early December [1950] from the vantage point of the end of the month is to see that Truman's threat to use the bomb was made under the impact of predictions of disaster which proved ridiculously untrue," he wrote (1988a, p. 229). The New York Times especially parrotted the predictions "as if a triple Dunkirk were ahead."

When fellow journalists did dare to undertake critical work independent of those in power, Stone was there to defend them. For example, when Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times was permitted to travel to North Vietnam for reports on U.S. bombings there, Stone applauded. He then found (1989b, p. 395) the trip "evoked as mean, petty and unworthy a reaction as I have ever seen in the press corps." Time, Newsweek, the Washington Post, the Washington Star, and other papers attacked Salisbury for allowing himself to be "exploited." Stone called the attacks "ponji-stick journalism -- like the dung-tipped spears in Viet Cong booby traps" (p. 396).

Stone's critique of the press's ethical compromises with those in power was made possible by intimate knowledge of the Washington press corps, a critical stance born of radical politics, and a stubborn faith that one could inform the other. Tom Wicker (1989) recognized that Stone's death had diminished "an American journalism that's all too seldom the boldly sounding tocsin its constitutional protection set out to make it." The playwright Arthur Miller (1989, p. v) has written, "To have kept his head in that hurricane of corrupted speech, ritualized patriotism, paranoid terror, and sudden conversions to acceptability, a reporter needed something more than his wits and investigative talent and a gift for language; he had to have faith. A confident, tolerant America was inconceivable in those times, but I.F. Stone's endurance, I believe, depended on a certain profound faith in just such a return to common sense, fairness, and social conscience."

ETHICS AND THE PURSUIT OF PROFITS

Stone had an ambivalent attitude to ethical questions surrounding the business side of journalism. On one hand, Stone had no problem with publications reaping profits. How could he? Although he charged just $5 a year for the Weekly, never raised the price and did not accept advertising, Stone was grossing $350,000 annually from 70,000 subscribers in the last years of publication. Indeed, Stone recognized ruefully that the life-long socialist was a startling successful, "independent capitalist" (1989a, p. xv).

Stone did have reservations, however, about the influence of profit-making on journalism. The ethical distinction seemed to be that profits were fine if earned by the fruit of truly independent journalism. But when profits became the driving force behind journalism practice, Stone felt ethical lines had been crossed.

He saw great ethical threats raised by the influence of advertising. He argued that a major obstacle to a healthy press "is that most papers are owned by men who are not newspapermen themselves; publishing is a business, not a Jeffersonian passion, and the main object is as much advertising revenue as possible" (1989a, p. 175).

He was vigilant in observing possible conflicts of interest between advertisers and the press. He offered searing critiques of wartime profits taken by U.S. corporations before and during World War II. Stone charged that advertising considerations led newspapers away from the story. For example, after detailing the huge wartime profits garnered by the automobile industry, Stone also noted (1988a, p. 61) that the established press ignored the story. "It is hard," he said, "for a newspaper to look a full-page ad in the mouth." He also charged that the press ignored the profit-taking of the Aluminum Company of America and its failure to reserve aluminum for defense. "I think the silence of the press on the matter is as shocking as the inactivity of the OPM [Office of Production Management]," Stone said (1988a, p. 79). The New York Times specifically "seems to have failed to see the connection between aluminum and planes. It does not hate Hitler less; perhaps it merely loves Alcoa more."

Stone attempted to apply such standards to his own work. He admitted to taking one ad in his newsletter. When he began publishing the Weekly, he was informed that his publication needed advertising to qualify as press for a Congressional pass. He published an ad for a clothing store in exchange for a suit, was denied a pass anyway, and never carried another ad (Patner, 1988, pp. 81-82).

Advertising then was not a true ethical test for Stone's work. More telling was Stone's willingness to take on stories and express opinions that could cost him the support of readers. For example, he was willing to endure a loss of support in 1945 when he disagreed with plans for the creation of Israel, stating, with some prescience, that planners failed "to take into account the feelings and aspirations of the Palestinian Arab" (1988a, pp. 333-34). He was vilified by supporters. Though he later supported the creation of Israel, he wrote that (1989c, p. 429) "as a Jew, closely bound emotionally with the birth of Israel, I feel honor bound to report the Arab side, especially since the U.S. press is so overwhelmingly pro-Zionist." He added, "For me, the Arab-Jewish struggle is a tragedy. The essence of tragedy is a struggle of right against right."

On another occasion, in 1956, he visited the Soviet Union, intending to capture the success of Communism for his expectant readers. He was appalled, however, at Soviet restrictions on personal liberties and virulently denounced the state in the Weekly. He was accused of caving in and of being a traitor to left ideals. Hundreds of readers cancelled subscriptions (1989a, p. 145).

Again, in the 1960s, Stone confronted his readers. He was a heroic figure to many anti-war and civil rights groups because of his early, emphatic critique of the Vietnam War and his long civil rights record. He gave an audience to the early work of the Students for a Democratic Society and found their positions to be "eloquent" (1989b, p. 365). He defended the groups against the press and charged that "a substantial portion of our press is off like a lynch mob in full hue and cry against the student rebels. Their numbers, their views, their actions are being exaggerated and distorted." But when student protests turned violent, Stone withdrew support: "I do not like to hear opponents shouted down, much less beaten up. I do not like to hear any one group of class, including policemen, called pigs. I do not think four-letter words are arguments. I hate, hate, intolerance and violence." He endured a backlash from many groups (1989c, p. 481).

The ethical test for Stone was one of independence. "I'm not only independent of advertisers," he said (Shenker, 1968). "That's easy. I'm independent of my readers, and that's difficult. Being dependent on one's readers is the subtlest kind of slavery. The real test of leadership is whether you're willing to take up causes unpopular with your readers."

Stone's ethical position on business concerns was not without paradoxes. Making substantial profit from a radical newsletter, for example, was an irony he never really explored in depth (Lule, 1991). Also, his second-class mailing permit for the newsletter was a kind of government subsidy, one which he recognized but needed. "There's something debilitating, though, about being a radical and being on the government's tit," he acknowledged (Patner, 1988, p. 71). "Getting tax exemption to overthrow the government!"

ETHICS AND THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM

An essential part of Stone's ethical framework was his belief that journalists had not only the right but the responsibility to defend freedom of expression. Such freedom was fundamental to his vision of journalism and of society. "I believe that no society is good and can be healthy without freedom for dissent and for creative independence," he said (1989a, p. xx). In the First Amendment and the writings of Jefferson, he found the mandate for his ethical critique. "The First Amendment gives newspapermen a status and a mandate, an honored place in society, that cannot be matched in England, much less on the European continent," he said (1978, p. 55). "This role of the press as a 'Fourth Estate' we owe to Jefferson. It is peculiarly American."

Stone's conception of freedom of expression was broad enough to encompass revolution and subversion. "There are revolutionary ideas in the Declaration of Independence and in Lincoln's First Inaugural," he argued (1988b, p. 94); "the right to overthrow a despotic government is basic in Anglo-American political thinking; the right to utter revolutionary ideas is protected by freedom of speech." Thus, for Stone, there could be no ethical compromise on freedom of expression, no "balancing" of the First Amendment with other interests (1989a, pp. 304-06). For example, he rejected free speech restrictions based on the "clear and present danger test." He took on the usual abstract discussions, such as the debate over the right to cry "Fire!" in a crowded theater. Stone argued that the man who yelled fire "would be guilty of provoking a public disorder" that could lead to loss of life and thus could be punished for a criminal act. "By keeping such an act away from free speech," Stone said (Patner, 1988, p. 98), "you keep your free speech principle pure."

Newspapers that did not share Stone's commitment to free speech could expect condemnation. He took the New York Times to task for its rejection of Einstein's call to defy Congressional investigators during the McCarthy inquisitions. The Times had said, "One cannot start from the premise that congressional committees have no right to question teachers and scientists or to seek out subversives wherever they can find them; what is profoundly wrong is the way some of them have been exercising it." Stone's disgust was palpable. "The fact is that one cannot start from any other premise without making defeat inevitable," he said (1989a, pp. 41-42). "To accept ideological interrogation is to make nonconformist views of any kind hazardous." He concluded, "'Un-American' is an epithet, not a legal standard."

Similarly, when the New York Herald-Tribune editorialized that "doubts of the reliability of a government servant are to be resolved in favor of national security, rather than of the individual concerned," Stone (1989a, p. 85) fired back, "This view threatens to reverse centuries of struggle. Had it prevailed, there would have been no Bill of Rights at all." The importance of individual freedom ran throughout his work. "The only meaningful freedom is individual," he said. "'Collective freedom' is the jailhouse liberty the Communist bureaucracy imposes on dissidents in Moscow, Warsaw and Prague" (1989c, p. 464-65).

Newspapers received his scorn in 1957 when obituaries of the Italian composer Toscanini gloried in how he had defied Mussolini and refused to play "Giovannezza," the Fascist hymn. "But of all the newspaper writers who applauded the Maestro's bravery, who was brave enough to note that we ourselves do not encourage our artists to be Toscaninis?" Stone asked (1989a, p. 178). He noted that Chaplin was driven into exile and Paul Robeson was refused permission to perform abroad. "Our artists have been taught that it is safer not to mix in politics." He made the same point when newspapers effusively praised Boris Pasternak who won the Nobel Prize but was not allowed by the

Soviet government to accept. Though Stone deeply admired Pasternak, he wrote (1989a, p. 253) that "an American Pasternak who accepted a Soviet prize would be hauled up before the Un-American Activities Committee and blacklisted in Hollywood and on Madison Avenue. And few, _very few_, of those who are now praising Pasternak would then say one word in defense of the right to a free conscience."

Stone's defense of free expression extended to radical organizations whose beliefs he did not share. He mourned the persecution and ultimate demise of the U.S. Communist newspaper, the _Daily Worker_. "Our government took steps to make it dangerous to read a Communist paper," he wrote (1989a, p. 253). "In this respect all of us who believe in free traditions must blush for its passing. Freedom of the press proved less real here than in Western Europe."

He lamented the imprisonment of Trotskyites in Minneapolis (1988a, pp. 72-74). Covering yet another special House subcommittee on government and information, he derided the arrests of 15 editors, associated with radical and foreign language papers, who faced deportation or denaturalization and he lambasted the U.S. press for its silence (1989a, p. 34). He noted (p. 176) that "though the first day's witnesses included the best and boldest of the regular press, no one mentioned the recent deportations of radical foreign language editors and of Cedric Belfrage of the _Guardian_. No one mentioned the Communist editors and reporters prosecuted -- _for their ideas_ -- under the Smith Act." He asked, "Did they feel it would be indiscreet to go beyond respectable limits? That such fundamental principles are best left for orations on Zenger and Lovejoy, both conveniently dead?"

Stone's modern-day heroes were those who shared his passion for freedom of expression. He wrote warmly of the courage of Chaplin and Einstein, who risked privilege and status to proclaim their views in the McCarthy era. His obituary for Alexander Meiklejohn stated, "For him as an American, the First Amendment was the essence of all that is best in our country and he spoke up for it when many were afraid to speak" (1989b, p. 371).

Up to his death, Stone worked on projects concerned with freedom of expression. His book, The Trial of Socrates, was to be a fragment of a larger work, a study of freedom of thought in history. But Socrates' condemnation by an Athenian democracy that Stone greatly respected could not be handled as a fragment. He saw Socrates as "the first martyr of free speech and free thought" (1988c, p. 197). "It horrified me as a civil libertarian," he said. "It shook my Jeffersonian faith in the common man. It was a black mark for Athens and the freedom it symbolized. How could the trial of Socrates have happened in so free a society? How could Athens have been so untrue to itself?" (p. xi).

His standards continue to be challenging. "There must be renewed recognition that societies are kept stable and healthy by reform, not by thought police," he said (1989a, p. 68). "This means that there must be free play for so-called 'subversive' ideas -- every idea 'subverts' the old to make way for the new. To shut off 'subversion' is to shut off peaceful progress and to invite revolution and war."

THE SITE OF STONE'S ETHICAL CRITIQUE

Discussions of ethics in journalism, as in other fields, have often been organized around varying ethical theories offered by

Aristotle, Hume, Mill, Kant and others (Christians, Rotzoll, Fackler, 1991; Lambeth, 1986; Meyer, 1987; Serafini, 1989). To briefly situate Stone in the discussion, this section will refer to one simple but prominent typology that organizes ethical theories into deontological or teleological approaches.

Deontological ethics finds the rightness or wrongness of an act within the act itself and not its consequences. Absolute laws and moral duties are the hallmark of deontology. Kant's categorical imperative is its premier manifesto. In journalism, deontological ethics have often found theoretical expression in the work of John Merrill. "If every case is different, if every situation demands a different standard, if there are not absolutes in ethics, then we should scrap the whole subject of moral philosophy and simply be satisfied with each person running his life by his whims or 'considerations' which may change from situation to situation," Merrill has written (1975, p. 16). Lambeth (1986) puts forth a similar, but less absolute, mixed rule deontology, advocating the scrutiny of consequences when principles conflict. "To consult consequences and then choose among one, two, or more principles, or to find a way that respects each principle to some significant extent, is to exercise the moral imagination," he writes (p. 25).

Teleological ethics considers the consequences of acts. Reflections on the greater good for the greater number mark teleology. Utilitarian models of ethics, such as those put forth by Bentham and Mill, are key in its intellectual exposition. In journalism, Klaidman and Beauchamp (1987) present a framework for the careful balancing and consideration of consequences. "Both the objectives of journalism and the public interest will be served," they write (p. 11), "if journalists learn to weigh and balance competing moral considerations in their work, rather than leaving such balancing to the courts or leaving it aside completely as if it were a purely legal matter." William S. Howell (1981) offers a "social utility" approach to communication ethics that assesses short-term and long-term consequences of acts of communication.

Stone's ethical framework can be situated firmly within the deontological perspective. He erected inviolable standards for the pursuit of news, power, profit and free expression. He rejected expediency, dismissed situational concerns, and derided a too careful calculation of consequences. Even those he attacked recognized that his standards were clear and offered with few reservations. For example, the lead to Stone's New York Times obituary called him "the independent, radical pamphleteer of American journalism hailed by admirers for scholarship, wit and lucidity and denounced by critics for wrongheadedness and stubbornnness" (Flint, 1989, p. D13). The Times went on to call him "a tireless examiner of public records, a hectoring critic of public officials, a persistent attacker of Government distortions and evasions and a pugnacious advocate of civil liberties, peace and truth." It added, "Everyone agreed that he annoyed some people all the time and all people one time or another."

Although the unconditional nature of Stone's ethical perspective was the source of much strength and power in his work, it may also have been the source of some limitation. Specifically, his ethical critique may have been restricted because its broad lines and fundamental insights into structure hindered adaptation to particular circumstances, and because Stone's vision was not completely applicable to daily journalism. Categorical imperatives seemingly leave little room for the situational decision making often required in occupational roles. Altschull (1990, p. 363) writes, "There is a dualism here, as in so many of the philosophical questions in the field of journalism. There is the conflict between one's own personal moral values and the professional standards in the field."

Stone's uncompromising critique of journalism convention and canon could put individual journalists at odds with their daily work. For example, reporters might find it difficult to retain their jobs if they rejected the traditional structuring of the profession into beats. Failure to attend press conferences and interviews would raise personal and professional havoc. Too, many editors and reporters have little say over advertising practice or even editorial policy. And so, though reporters and editors may have found themselves nodding in agreement over Stone's critique of journalism canon, most would be powerless to act on his words.

Ironically, these limitations might have stemmed from another of Stone's strengths -- the site of his endeavors. His work for alternative publications and especially the newsletter gave him freedoms and privileges unknown to more traditional reporters. As publisher, editor, and writer, Stone did not have to contend with hierarchical job pressures faced by the reporters he critiqued. Also, Stone almost always wrote for a small and narrow audience that mostly shared his views. Readers of the newsletter, for example, were usually admirers and supporters, "a scattered tiny minority of liberals and radicals," Stone called them, who often, though not always, embraced his politics and passions (1989a, xvii). In a real sense, then, the newsletter almost ensured that Stone would be preaching to the converted -- again, a privilege unknown to most journalists.

Stone did have doubts about his critiques of fellow journalists as well as others. "I rarely had doubts about those I defended. I often had doubts about those I attacked. Had I been fair? Was I being a self-righteous prig, without charity or compassion?" he wrote (1988b, p. xix). "How easy, and how shameful, to be a newspaper pundit, a petty moral magistrate sitting in judgment on others!".

Stone's decision to pursue his press criticism and ethical broadsides in his newsletter and the alternative press can be viewed then in the context of a larger, still ongoing discussion over the proper site for radical critiques. Stone chose to air his critique to like-minded readers in like-minded publications. Other radical writers, such as A. Kent MacDougall, a former reporter for the Wall Street Journal and Los Angeles Times, elected to work in the established media without disclosing their political leanings. "I consider it a shame that so few radicals think of a career in journalism, fewer still of a career in the mainstream media," said MacDougall (1989, p. 41). "For I am convinced that radicals make superior journalists. Given time and opportunity, they look at the big picture, take the long view, dig to the root of problems."

Carlin Romano (1989, p. 122), literary critic of the Philadelphia Inquirer, asserts the benefits of radical critics working openly in the media. In a critique of the press criticism of Noam Chomsky and Ed Herman, Romano denounces "the ongoing resistance of American intellectuals to direct participation in the mass press," and says a "truly trenchant press won't exist until intellectuals accept reporting as a worthy trade that bolsters rather than retards their interests." In her history of U.S. press criticism, Marion Marzolf (1991, p. 202), similarly calls for critics to take up issues of ethics in the press: "Regular daily coverage of such issues by professional critics of journalism would provide a forum for informed public discussion. This criticism would teach the public about the realities of daily journalism while also serving as a monitor against the deliberate disregard of those ethics."

Certainly the idea of Stone working as editor, reporter or even ombudsman for the Washington Post or New York Times is appealing. But it was a question that Stone ultimately resolved on a personal rather than professional level. "It was a form of self-indulgence," he told an interviewer, "and I've had a wonderful time at it. With all due respect to the New York Times, I'd rather have had these nineteen years being editor of this fly sheet than editor of the Times" ("I.F. Stone," 1980, p. 788).

SUMMARY

In the years before his death, Stone's status in journalism had reached heights not often seen by radical reporters or press critics. The one-time pariah, conveniently retired, was the subject of a documentary film aired at Cannes, a "60 Minutes" profile, a self-interview in The New York Times Magazine, and numerous media features. His scholarly book on the trial of Socrates made the Times bestseller list soon after its release in 1988. In the marketplace of American journalism, Stone had been transformed from iconoclast to icon (Dennis & Rivers, 1974; Lule, 1991; Middleton, 1973).

James Boylan (1989, p. 46) has cautioned that "there is a danger now of underestimating I.F. Stone, of settling for his cozy, winning side -- of accepting his graduation, as he once put it, from pariah to character to public instititution." The danger, as Boylan points out, comes from overlooking the radical, structural critique of politics and journalism that Stone spent a lifetime building and living.

This essay has attempted to examine and reflect upon a substantial element of Stone's structural critique -- his concern for journalism ethics. With classical background, professional experience, and political rabidity, Stone was well suited to develop and extend an ethical framework for the field. Though perhaps restricted in reach due to Stone's uncompromising, Kantian principles as well as the limits inherent in the site of his primary work, the newsletter, Stone's concerns over the ethical pursuits of news, profits, power and freedom of expression offer a potent and provocative framework for discussions of journalism ethics. His radical rules provide a challenging and passionate protest to established press practice and power.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPE

AND PUBLIC RELATIONS:

THEORY, RESEARCH, AND APPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This research applies psychological type theory (articulated by Jung and developed by Myers) to public relations, especially to matters of persuasion and message effectiveness.

The researcher developed an instrument to measure characteristics inherent in messages which relate to the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (specifically the Sensing/Intuition dimension dealing with how persons gather information, and the Thinking/Feeling dimension dealing with how they make decisions).

The report details a preliminary study supporting the hypothesis that a person will prefer messages exhibiting the characteristics of his/her own psychological type.

In applying this to public relations practice, the report offers four guidelines:

- Messages should reflect the psychological types of target publics.
- Without contrary information, communicators can presume a Sensing preference.
- Both Thinking and Feeling dimensions should be used for decision-making purposes.
- Psychological type theory should be used for insights into message construction rather than for predictions of results.

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INTRODUCTION

Practitioners of public relations strive for effective ways to present their messages to their publics. Planning, research, and writing skills are summoned to the task. Personal creativity is called forth. Yet every public relations practitioner has experienced occasions when careful planning, good writing, and well-crafted messages failed to have the intended effect on the target public.

Public relations professionals are attempting to move beyond gut-level instinct, seeking instead an ability to identify predictive factors which can lead to more effective communication between an organization and its publics. We seek neither prophecy nor guarantee. Rather the goal is to more smoothly navigate the channels of communication.

Psychological type theory has been applied to many fields, including business, education, and religion, showing its usefulness for understanding and predicting patterns of human interaction. To date, little application has been made to the field of public communication.

This paper will make an application of psychological type theory to public relations. In doing so, it first will examine the evolution of type theory and relevant studies based on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. Second, it will report on the development of a measurement tool designed specifically for applying type theory in the practice of public relations. Third, it will report on a preliminary study. Finally, it will propose an approach based on theory and research for public relations practitioners to use type theory in their everyday work.

Benefits of Type Theory to Public Relations

Why use psychological type for public relations? It is an approach which provides important insights not only into the communication relationship among people but also, by extension, into the communication between organizations and their publics.

Psychological type theory is useful "as a device for working with families and groups to improve communications, teamwork, and leadership" (McCaulley, 1981, p. 295), and it has many practical applications. Analysts can better understand their patients, and lawyers their clients. Teachers gain insights into students' aptitudes, learning styles, and ways of interacting. The work of journalists, politicians, and advertising people can be assisted by a knowledge of psychological types. "Understanding psychological type is useful to anyone who has a personality (and who does not?) or who is interested in the personalities of others (and who is not?)" (Riso, 1987, p. 9).

Psychological type theory offers many potential applications in the practice of public relations, where clearer understanding of the communication styles and preferences both of organizations and their publics can enhance relationships between the two. A two-way symmetric model of public relations proposed by James Grunig and Todd Hunt (1984) calls for mutual understanding, dialogue, and balanced effects. Scott Cutlip, Allen Center and Glen Broom hold up a similar open systems model which begins with "purposeful sensing of the environment to anticipate and detect changes that affect the organization's relationships with its publics, [then being] selectively sensitive to those publics" (1985, p. 195-6).

For practitioners seeking to operate in the open-system, symmetric model, psychological type theory leads to a clearer understanding of individuals who comprise both organizations and publics. "Practitioners use formative research to learn how the public perceives the organization.... Formative research can also be used to learn how well publics understand management and how well management understands publics." (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 25). Type theory gives an added dimension to such research. It helps us learn not only ***how well*** but also ***how*** one group understands the other. Any organization would be well-served by having a process which helps its public relations writers construct messages compatible with the preferred styles of information-gathering and decision-making of individuals in its publics.

Expedience is another reason to use type theory in public relations. If they fail to consider psychological type, public relations writers may be at a distinct disadvantage. Data banks at the Center for Applications of Psychological Type indicate that public relations practitioners often approach communication differently than the general population does. Public Relations people are more likely to focus on figurative and emotional constructions (Intuitive-Thinking and Intuitive-Feeling in the Myers-Briggs formulation) rather than on factual and analytical ones (Sensing-Thinking and Sensing-Feeling).

Note the following distribution of types (Macdaid, McCaulley, and Kainz, 1986):

Psychological Type	*General Population*	*Public Relations Practitioners*
Sensing-Thinking	38%	22%
Sensing-Feeling	37%	18%
Intuitive-Thinking	12%	26%
Intuitive-Feeling	13%	34%

Thus, if left to their own preferences, public relations planners and communicators may develop messages which reflect their personal psychological type but which may not necessarily appeal to their target publics. It would be more expedient for them to know the preferences of their publics and then to measure how their messages would be expected to play to these preferences. This knowledge can be gained through type theory. By applying this knowledge, public relations practitioners are more likely to effectively communicate with their publics.

Hypotheses

This research has evolved in an attempt to apply psychological type theory to the field of public relations and its associated areas -- marketing, advertising, negotiation, conflict management, and other group-to-group relationships rooted in the communication process. Specifically it addresses the issue of communication-relevant dimensions of psychological type theory and their correlation both for individuals and messages. This study proposes the following hypothesis:

> *Research Hypothesis*: Subjects will prefer messages which exhibit the dominant characteristics of their personal psychological type preferences in communication-relevant dimensions.
>
> *Subhypothesis A*: Subjects with Sensing characteristics will prefer Sensing-type messages.
>
> *Subhypothesis B*: Subjects with Intuitive characteristics will prefer Intuitive-type messages.
>
> *Subhypothesis C*: Subjects with Thinking characteristics will prefer Thinking-type messages.
>
> *Subhypothesis D*: Subjects with Feeling characteristics will prefer Feeling-type messages.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Disorder is a condition humanity finds difficult to accept. The ancient Greeks tried to create order out of the apparent chaos of human interaction. The search continues today. But what began in metaphysics continues in the behavioral sciences, where we now look for insights into human interaction.

In the Fifth Century BCE, Empedocles expanded on earlier Greek philosophers in identifying the four elements -- earth, water, air and fire -- as the building blocks of all natural phenomena. Meanwhile, physicians like Galen were applying a related typology of four body qualities -- dry, moist, cold, and warm. Hippocrates the Physician concluded that four categories of human personality are based on the influence of the four body fluids or humors -- melancholy or depression from black bile, phlegmatic or sluggishness from mucus, sanguine or self-confidence from blood, or cholera or irritability from yellow bile.

This was the approach to temperament which more or less prevailed through much of Western history, until its underpinnings were called into question during the Age of Reason, beginning a more scientific study of human interaction.

Foundational Work of Jung

Twenty-five centuries after the Greeks sought an orderly understanding of human temperament, their efforts were revisited by many of the early psychoanalysts. The notion of four internal categories which identify behavior remained popular in the emerging human sciences, standing almost as an archetype in itself (Jacobi, 1959, p. 63).

In 1907 Erich Adickes identified four world views by which people relate to their environment -- dogmatic, agnostic, traditional and innovative. Eduard Spranger wrote of four human values which distinguish people -- religious, theoretic, economic, and artistic. Ernst Kretschmer also used a four-fold typology of in-born temperament to explain abnormal behavior -- hyperesthetic (too sensitive), anesthetic (too insensitive), melancholic (too serious), and hypomanic (too excitable). Alfred Adler, meanwhile, cited four "mistaken goals" which attract different types of people -- recognition, power, service, and revenge.

It is related that Carl Jung developed his interest in psychological type in an attempt to understand the disagreement of two colleagues and friends -- Adler and Sigmund Freud. Each held opposing viewpoints based on his investigation into the nature of neurosis, a difference which led to the breakdown of their friendship. Jung observed:

> Each sees things from a different angle, and thus they evolve fundamentally different views and theories.... This difference can hardly be anything else but a difference in temperament, a contrast between two different types of human mentality.... The spectacle of this dilemma made me ponder the question are there at least two different human types, one of them more interested in the object, the other more interested in himself?... I have [finally] come to postulate two fundamental attitudes, namely introversion and extraversion. (Jung, 1942, par 57-62)

Freud, the extravert, focused on the external, sexuality-based relationship of child and parent. Adler, the introvert, focused on an internal process of each person's development out of a beginning sense of inferiority and distrust. Each was looking only from his own perspective and seeing just one dominant basis for the way people approach life and relationships. Jung broke ranks with both of his colleagues, identifying not one but a whole set of different bases for human temperament.

We have inherited from Jung the concept of a continuum between the oppositional qualities. "Every individual possess both mechanisms -- extraversion as well as introversion, and only the relative predominance of the one or the other determines the type" (Jung, 1923, P. 10). This dualism is only the beginning of understanding human temperament. In addition to these *general attitude types* of extraversion and introversion, Jung postulated two pairs of *function types* (or *orienting functions*) which attach to the former. These functions are Sensation and Intuition, which he called modes of perception, and Thinking and Feeling, modes of judgement. These four function types were important to Jung, and their mutual relationship remains important to any application of type theory for public communication purposes.

> By thinking we are able to recognize the meaning or purpose of the object we observe, that is, we form a concept of it; feeling informs us of the value, to us, of the object; sensation relates to what is established by our senses of sight, touch, etc., and intuition brings in the idea of time as it points to possibilities that lie ahead. (Bennet, 1966, p. 55)

In combination with the attitude types, these four function types help define a person's innate preferences and approaches to relationships. These preferences override any other distinctions such as sex, social class, education, occupation, economic standing, ethnic background, and so on.

Why categorize people in such ways? What practical purposes can be achieved by personality-based typology?

The concept of typology often is generalized, and Jung himself observed that it would be "pretty pointless" merely to classify people into categories. But the usefulness of typology is in its objectification which leads to application. "It offers a system of comparison and orientation" (Jung, 1933, p. 94). An understanding of how personality differences affects a perception and decision-making can have applications in many areas.

> First and foremost, it [psychological type] is a critical tool for the research worker, who needs definite points of view and guidelines if he is to reduce the chaotic profusion of individual experiences to any kind of order.... Second, a typology is a great help in understanding the wide variations that occur among individuals.... Last but not least, it is an essential means for determining the 'personal equation' of the psychologist, who, armed with an exact knowledge of his differentiated and inferior functions, can avoid many serious blunders in dealing with his patients. (Jung, 1936, p. 146)

Contributions of Myers and Briggs

After the initial attention around the 1920s, interest in personality and temperament lagged, in part because the theories had not been applied to aspects of human endeavor beyond psychoanalysis, but more significantly because Freudian-based theories held priority in that field. Jung's work was largely oversimplified and ignored.

But 30 years later, Katharine Cook Briggs and Isabel Briggs Myers took up Jung's study of psychological type and gave it an application. The mother-daughter team developed an instrument for identifying personality types based on the attitude and function types outlined by Jung. What emerged from their work was a typology using four pairs of indicators:

- *Extraversion/Introversion* (E/I) which focuses on areas of a person's reference point.
- *Sensing/Intuition* (S/N) which deals with perception and gathering of information.
- *Thinking/Feeling* (T/F) which considers the decision-

making process.

- *Judgement/Perception* (J/P) which emphasizes how a persons acts once a decision is made.

Like Jung, Myers and Briggs emphasize that each of the pairs represent a continuum. Each characteristic operates in everyone. But one of the characteristics in each dimension will be the preferred one, with a greater or lesser intensity of preference. Every person places at a particular point on this continuum, indicating the relationship between the two complimentary attributes. (See CHART 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF PREFERENCES, page 11.)

Sixteen different personality types thus are identified in the Myers-Briggs approach, with descriptors such as ISTJ, INTP, ENFP, ESFJ, and so on.

Recognizing the difficulty of handling distinctions among 16 categories, Myers developed a Type Table so that "distinguishing qualities can best be seen by comparison and contrast" (Myers and Myers, 1980, p. 27). This table of function types provides a means for systematically considering each type in relation to the others. Myers starts with the S/N processes of perception, then categorizes each according to the T/F processes of making judgment. Continuing her method, Myers then adds the E/I and finally the J/P classifications.

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), which has been used by more than 2,000,000 people, has been shown by numerous studies to have both reliability and validity (Carlson and Levy, 1973; Carlyn, 1977; Carskadon, 1979; Carlson, 1980).

The work of Myers and Briggs has shown, through many applications, to provide insight on personal or interpersonal levels. It has been used to understand various aspects of communication -- how a person obtains and processes information, why information sometimes is interpreted differently by different people, and how people use communication in their interaction with others. Myers herself made some of the first applications of type theory in this area, noting that type differences account for many problems in communication.

> In order to serve any useful purpose, a communication needs to be (a) listened to, (b) understood and (c) considered without hostility. It is human nature not to listen attentatively if one has the impression that what is being said is going to be irrelevant or unimportant. So a communication needs to start with a topic sentence that promises something worth listening to. The trouble is that what is considered worth listening to varies from type to type.... A communication may be listened to and understood but still fail of its purpose if it arouses antagonism. (Myers, 1974, p. 4)

Jung's four function types which combine the perception and judgment dimensions -- ST and SF, NT and NT -- have been considered the most significant components of type theory (Myers, 1987). Schemel and Borbely define these dimensions as the two basic mental processes (1982, p. 2). Germane calls them the primary groupings (1985, p. 63), and Davis, Grove, and Knowles identify them as the decision-making styles (1990). The emphasis on these two particular aspects of type theory also is shared by other researchers (Hirsch & Kummerow, 1990; McCaulley & Natter, 1980; Roberts, 1977). (See CHART 2: CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPE FUNCTIONS, page 12.)

Additionally, Myers points out the prominence of the information-gathering function. She called this "the preference that has the most conspicuous consequences" (Myers, 1971, p. 126-7).

Thus in the hierarchy of functions within type theory, the Sensing/Intuition dimension stands as paramount. In close proximity is the Thinking/Feeling dimension. These two dimensions will prove to be especially important to applications in areas of public communication.

CHART 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF PREFERENCES
(WITH COMMUNICATION-RELEVANT CHARACTERISTICS IN BOLD TYPE)

EXTRAVERTS (E)	*INTROVERTS (I)*
Relaxed & confident	Reserved & questioning
Outwardly directed	Inwardly directed
Focused on people & things	Focused on ideas & meanings
People of action & achievement	People of ideas & invention
Understandable & accessible; at home with people & things	Subtle & impenetrable; at home with ideas
SENSORS (S)	*INTUITIVES (N)*
Contented; craving enjoyment	**Restless; craving inspiration**
Pleasure lovers & consumers	**Initiators & promoters**
Imitative of what other people have & do	**Indifferent to what other people have & do**
Observant; dependent upon their physical surroundings	**Imaginative; independent of their physical surroundings**
THINKING (T)	*FEELING (F)*
Value logic	**Value sentiment**
Interested in things	**Interested in people**
Strong in executive ability	**Strong in social arts**
Naturally brief & businesslike	**Naturally friendly & sociable**
Organize facts & ideas into logical sequence	**Rambling & repetitive in presenting information**
JUDGING (J)	*PERCEIVING (P)*
Decisive	Curious
Live plans & standards	Live the moment's situation
Choose among possibilities	Handle unplanned & incidental
Depend on reasoned judgments	Depend on new experiences
Take pleasure in getting something finished	Take pleasure in starting something new

(Adapted from Myers and Myers, 1980)

CHART 2: CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPE FUNCTIONS
WITH RELEVANCE TO PUBLIC RELATIONS

	ST	*SF*	*NT*	*NF*
People who prefer...	Sensing & Thinking	Sensing & Feeling	Intuition & Thinking	Intuition & Feeling
Focus on...	Facts	Facts	Possibility	Possibility
Make decisions based on...	Impersonal analysis	Personal warmth	Impersonal analysis	Personal warmth
Tend toward...	Practical matter-of-fact	Sympathetic & friendly	Logical & ingenious	Enthusiastic & insightful
Adept at...	Applying facts & experience	Meeting daily needs of people	Developing theoretical concepts	Recognizing aspirations of people
Sensitive to...	Cause & effect	Feelings of others	Technique & theory	Possibility for people
Prefer appeals to...	Reason	Emotion	Reason	Emotion
Prefer messages based on...	What is	What is	What could be	What could be

(adapted from Myers & McCaulley 1985; Myers 1987; and Hirsch & Kummerow 1989)

Contributions of Keirsey and Bates

A more recent adaptation of psychological type theory has been proposed by David Keirsey and Marilyn Bates. They have used the Myers-Briggs concepts but have re-categorized them into four distinct temperaments. This application looks back to Hippocrates, rearranging Jung's types to correlate with the Greek model of four preference pairs. It takes into account studies in persuasion theory, cognitive stability theory, and congruence theory. It recognizes needs theory, which has generated applications in marketing research (with extensions into public relations), which in turn have dealt with the relationship between personality, lifestyle, and consumer activity.

Keirsey and Bates (1984) suggest that Jung's theory should be rearranged to conform to the notion of temperaments. Such a realignment, acknowledging the hypothesis that temperament precedes and gives rise to psychological type, was rooted in the four different behaviors Keirsey observed.

> Very simply, temperament determines behavior because behavior is the instrument for getting us what we *must* have, satisfying our desire for that one thing we live for. The god (or temperament) we were born to has left each of us a hunger that must be fed daily. (p. 30)

The Keirsey-Bates process first sorts types into Sensation or Intuition (S/N), as does Myers. Then Keirsey and Bates reinterpret how psychological preferences operate together. Thus in the second cut at assigning categories, Sensation-preferring persons are linked with the Perceiving or Judging functions (SP or SJ), which deal with how a person comes to closure. Intuition-preferring persons are separated into their Thinking or Feeling functions (NT or NF), which describe how they make decisions. Little justification is given to explain this reclassification, which is not without its critics.

The work of Keirsey and Bates is useful to making application of psychological type to communication. Their analysis of the four pairs of preferences is particularly helpful. They note, for example, that differences in the Sensation-Intuition preferences are the most common causes of misunderstanding and miscommunication. The Sensation-preferring person is rooted in factual information, personal experience, and provable reality. The Intuition-preferring person, meanwhile, pays attention to hunches, imagery, and possibilities.

The Keirsey-Bates approach has been adopted by Otto Kroeger and Janet Thuesen, who deal with some aspects of communication at the interpersonal level.

"The difference between Ss and Ns is very crucial because the way we gather information is the starting point for most human interactions" (Kroeger & Thuesen, 1988, p. 25-26). This difference is between the literalism of Sensors and the corresponding imagery of Intuitives. "So many of our communication difficulties begin with S/N misconceptions: one person sees a forest, the other sees trees. The refreshing part of Typewatching is that it offers a nonjudgmental way of coping with this age-old interpersonal difficulty" (Kroeger & Thuesen, 1988, p. 27).

Likewise, Kroeger and Thuesen deal with the T/F function, the process of making decisions about information which has been gathered. Thinkers prefer a logical, detached, analytical approach; Feelers are driven by an interpersonal involvement and a capacity for empathy that comes from subjective values. But the differences are in the thought processes, not the resulting decisions themselves. "It's possible for Ts and Fs to arrive at the same conclusion via their different paths, or for people who employ similar modes of decision making to come to opposite conclusions. It's the *route* to the decision, not the decision itself, that characterizes them" (p. 30).

Contributions of Cline, McBride and Miller

A series of studies by Carolyn Garrett Cline, Michael McBride, and Randy Miller have dealt with the application of the Keirsey-Bates model to public communication purposes, first to advertising, then more widely to aspects of public relations.

They note that modern public relations has been slow to integrate persuasion into practice. They also address how psychological type theory (as it has been worked out by Keirsey and Bates) applies to organizations, audiences, and messages (McBride, Cline & Miller, 1987a):

Organizations, as well as their products and services, can display temperaments just as individuals do. Research such as panel studies, positioning surveys, focus groups, or communication pattern analysis can reveal public perceptions of the organization's temperament.

Audiences have observable temperament characteristics which are evident in demographic data of previous psychological type studies showing that particular professions and occupations may be dominated by particular personality types.

Messages can be seen to have their own temperaments. This is the area where Cline, McBride, and Miller offer fresh insights supported by research on psychological type congruence.

> A conflict between the receiver's perception of an object's intrinsic or positioned type and a persuader's portrayal of the object as a different type creates an imbalance in the receiver. Stated more succinctly, the receiver will prefer a presentation where the type of the object is congruent with his own perception of that object's type. (McBride, Cline & Miller, 1987a, p. 13)
>
> A subject may consider object X not only from a purely evaluative stance as negative/positive, or favorable/unfavorable, but also as belonging to a personality type, whether from some intrinsic characteristics or from the way the object has been positioned in the

> subject's mind.... The receiver will prefer a presentation where the type of the object is congruent with his own perception of that object's type. (McBride, Cline & Miller, 1987b, p. 13)

The type congruence theory proposes that a message (in the pilot study, magazine advertisements) delivers a dominant cue and perhaps one or more secondary cues. These cues, based on artwork, headline, and/or body copy, suggest one of the four Keirsean temperaments. The study investigated how receivers deal with a difference between the cue as received in the advertisement and any pre-existing cue of the advertised product.

Cline, McBride, and Miller make a plausible though unsupported supposition -- that a magazine with a particular temperament primarily attracts readers with the same temperament. Their subjects are too few to offer statistical significance. Despite these shortcomings, they rightly claim preliminary verification for their theory, and their pilot study offers much potential in using type theory for public relations purposes.

Cline, McBride, and Miller (1989) have applied their type congruence theory ex post facto to two public service communication campaigns -- an unsuccessful program on teenage alcohol abuse and a successful appeal for blood donors. The degree of success they observed seemed to correspond with how well matched the message was to the audience, based on personality type.

For example, the alcohol-abuse campaign presented a strong Intuitive message to a largely Sensing group of teenagers who failed to accept such a message. The campaign increased awareness, but it had no measurable impact on attitudes or behavior. Cline and her colleagues concluded that "the type of the message must relate to the perceived type of the object as it is positioned to the public" (p. 236).

It is precisely this correlation between temperament and message preference which gives rise to the following research.

RESEARCH

Preliminary research on the hypothesis and subhypotheses has been conducted. This pilot study used materials and a measurement instrument developed by the researcher.

Conceptualization

Previous research in the application of psychological type theory has led to a divergence -- the Myers mainstream and the Keirsey re-classification -- which has generated some controversy. Yet the differences may be more semantic than substantive. Evidence suggests that the SP and SJ combinations proposed by Keirsey in some ways mirror the ST and SF categories of the Myers typology. Research shows a moderate positive correlation between the S/N and the J/P dimensions (Myers, 1962) and a "definite statistical significance" between the two (Macdaid, 1984, p. 53). The Sensing characteristics of reality and experience seem to echo the Judging characteristics of organization, style and dependability. Intuitive and Perception characteristics also show parallels.

This researcher sees no reason for continued antagonism between the Myers and the Keirsey approaches, at least as these are applied to public relations situations. Both approaches have much to offer. Both use the same 16 combinations of preference pairs. Both assign similar characteristics to each component of the psychological sub-types. The significant difference, a relatively minor one, is the disparate way in which Myers and Keirsey group the relevant interactions of the various preference pairs.

Nevertheless, a choice among the two variants must be made, and this researcher has chosen to pursue the categorization method proposed by Myers. Two reasons stand out for this decision:

First, a major and evolving amount of research is being reported on applications of the Myers approach, far more than on the Keirsey modification. This body of information offers a potential for refining the scientific understanding of personal psychology and for making realistic and valid applications to public relations and related areas of interpersonal, intergroup, and public communication. It provides a supportive environment for the evolution of theory and applications related to public relations.

Second and more important, this researcher concludes that the focus for applying psychological type theory to public relations should be on the two type dimensions which are most relevant for communication purposes -- Sensing/Intuition (the information-gathering dimension), and Thinking/Feeling (the decision-making dimension). These two dimensions also are most closely associated with the process of persuasion. Janis and Hovland (1959) charted the major factors in communication-produced attitude change -- the internal mediating processes of attention, comprehension, and acceptance. Drawing on psychological type, the S/N dimension most clearly correlates with the attention process. The T/F dimension, meanwhile, relates to acceptance.

In the interests of maintaining the focus on the information-gathering and the decision-making dimensions of psychological type, Myers provides the clearer approach.

Message Type Indicator

Most of the communication application of personality type relies on "experts" -- often university students with rudimentary training in type theory -- who classify messages as to their dominant type (McBride, Cline, Miller, 1987a). Inherent in such an approach is an over-reliance on academics and researchers, thus reducing the usefulness of type application to communication practitioners.

Taking a different approach, this researcher sought an instrument which would allow the practitioner to measure the preferences inherent in messages developed for public relations purposes. To be useful to the practitioner not trained in the nuances of type theory, such an instrument should be based on common operational definitions of measurement criteria.

The classification instrument which was developed uses five determinant bipolar characteristics in each of the two dimensions of psychological type relevant to public communications. The specific wording of these characteristics is drawn largely from Part Two of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Form G).

In a two-tier process, the Message Type Indicator first presents a forced-choice situation which leads the user to select the stronger of each bipolar pair of characteristics. The design makes no provision for neutrality between the determinant characteristics.

The first dimension deals with information presentation within messages, measuring concept pairs related to perception and information-gathering (the S/N process). For example, the MTI leads the user to indicate whether the message presents facts or ideas (facts characterizing Sensing message, ideas characterizing Intuitive messages). Following this are four other pairs of determinant characteristics.

The second dimension deals with information content of messages, measuring concept pairs related to judgment and decision-making (the T/F process). The user chooses whether the message is addressed to the head (Thinking) or the heart (Feeling), and then proceeds through four other choices.

In the second tier of the typing process, the Message Type Indicator leads the user to evaluate the particular strength characteristic. This is done with an interval scale of +1, +2, and +3 to measure levels of intensity.

Through simple arithmetical calculations, the instrument yields a type preference and an intensity factor in both the Sensing/Intuition and the Thinking/Feeling dimensions. A 1.0 factor indicates a total preference toward one of the characteristics; a zero factor indicates a perfect balance (neutral intensity) between the complementary poles. (See MESSAGE TYPE INDICATOR, page 22.)

The usefulness of this application was pre-tested by the researcher and colleagues on a series of public relations messages specifically developed and type-classified for the preliminary study.

Methodology

A preliminary study was developed in two stages in 1991. In Stage One, subjects (N=47) were given the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Form G). Subjects included adult professionals and graduate and undergraduate students of both traditional and non-traditional ages. Most subjects were familiar with public relations practices; some were not. Proportionally, they were 38% Sensing to 62% Intuitive and 38% Thinking to 62% Feeling.

In Stage Two, the subjects were given a Communication

Preference survey developed by the researcher. This questionnaire included a series of materials presenting messages in a variety of public relations formats (stand-alone headlines, news release headlines and leads, and brochures). Messages in these materials were analyzed on the two communication-relevant dimensions of psychological type -- Sensing/Intuition and Thinking/-Feeling -- using the Message Type Indicator.

The results of the subjects' MBTI types from Stage One were correlated with their preference of messages from Stage Two.

MESSAGE TYPE INDICATOR FOR ASSESSING PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPE IN MESSAGES

Step 1: Read the message to be assessed. Identify it in this box → → → →
Step 2: Read statement 1 in section A.
Step 3: Circle the letter to the right which best describes the statement.
Step 4: Circle the number which indicates the intensity of this characteristic: (1-slight; 2-moderate; 3-high).
Step 5: Continue with each statement in sections A and B.
Step 6: Do the calculations in the boxes.
Step 7: Enter the results in this box → → → → → → → → → → → →

____
MESSAGE

______ ______
TYPE PREFERENCE

______ ______
INTENSITY FACTOR

A. INFORMATION PRESENTATION

	S		N		
1. Does the message present . . .	*facts*	*or*	*ideas*	S N	1 2 3
2. Is the message one of . . .	*certainty*	*or*	*possibility*	S N	1 2 3
3. Does it point to . . .	*what is*	*or*	*what might be*	S N	1 2 3
4. Does it give information . . .	*literally*	*or*	*figuratively*	S N	1 2 3
5. Does it depict . . .	*common sense*	*or*	*a vision*	S N	1 2 3

●Add the intensity numbers for S = _____
●Add the intensity numbers for N = _____
●Circle the category with the larger number → → → → → S N
●Subtract the smaller number from the larger number = ____
●Divide the difference between the totals by 15.
●Circle the closest number from the chart → → → → 0.0 .1 .2 .3
●The combination of the circles letter and number is .4 .5 .6 .7
the Sensing/Intuition intensity factor. .8 .9 1.0

B. INFORMATION CONTENT

	T		F		
1. Does the message address . . .	*the head*	*or*	*the heart*	T F	1 2 3
2. It is based on . . .	*logic/reason*	*or*	*sentiment*	T F	1 2 3
3. Does it seek to be . . .	*convincing*	*or*	*touching*	T F	1 2 3
4. Does it lead one to . . .	*analyze*	*or*	*sympathize*	T F	1 2 3
5. Does it focus on . . .	*things/groups*	*or*	*individuals*	T F	1 2 3

●Add the intensity numbers for T = _____
●Add the intensity numbers for F = _____
●Circle the category with the larger number → → → → → T F
●Subtract the smaller number from the larger number = ____
●Divide the difference between the totals by 15.
●Circle the closest number from the chart → → → → 0.0 .1 .2 .3
●The combination of the circles letter and number is .4 .5 .6 .7
the Thinking/Feeling intensity factor. .8 .9 1.0

RESULTS

The data emerging through this pilot study generally support the research hypothesis that subjects prefer messages which exhibit dominant characteristics of their personal psychological type preferences.

Analysis

The survey results were analyzed by computer. The Sensing/Intuition and the Thinking/Feeling characteristics inherent in the various sample messages, which had been selected by the subjects, were cross-tabulated with the subjects' psychological type preferences, derived through the MBTI testing.

For purposes of this study, a 4 or 5 rating on the five-point interest scale (LITTLE INTEREST 1-2-3-4-5 MUCH INTEREST) was considered to be an indication of preference and a selection of the message. Thus subjects could select none, some, or all messages in each of the survey categories.

Preferences were tallied for three specific kinds of messages presented in the survey -- stand-alone headlines, news release heads and leads, and brochures. Additionally, an overall message preference was obtained by averaging the percentages of selection frequencies for the specific samples.

Findings

Sensing Subjects, S & N Messages

Subjects with a Sensing preference selected Sensing messages 3% more often than they chose Intuitive messages (66% to 63%). Two message categories showed substantial preferences -- brochures with a +17% preference (88% to 71%) and stand-alone heads with a +9% preference (65% to 56%). In the category of news release heads and leads, there is a -16% frequency (45% to 61%). Overall, these findings offer slight support for subhypothesis A.

Intuitive Subjects, S & N messages

Overall, Intuitive subjects chose Intuitive messages 9% more frequently than they chose Sensing messages (53% to 44%). The preference for same-type messages among Intuitives was more pronounced with news release heads and leads, +16% (55% to 39%). Brochures drew +11% (72% to 61%). Stand-alone heads were even, with 33% preference for both S and N messages. These findings offer moderate support for subhypothesis B.

Sensing Messages, S & N Subjects

Subjects with the Sensing preference were more likely than those with the Intuitive preference to choose the Sensing message. S's selected S messages in 66% of the cases -- 22% more frequently than N's selected S messages. S's chose stand-alone headlines 65% of the time (+32% frequency re: N's), news release heads and leads 45% (+6% re: N's), and brochures 88% (+27% re: N's). These findings offer strong support for subhypothesis A.

Intuitive Messages, S & N Subjects

The correlation between the psychological and communication preference of Intuitive subjects is weak. N's selected N overall messages 53% of the time, though this was with 10% less frequency than S's selection of N messages). Specifically, the results show that the N's reported a preference of 72% for N brochures (+1% re: S's). However, they showed a disinclination for the stand-alone heads with 33% (-23% re: S's) and 55% for news release heads and leads (-6% re: S's). These contradictory findings do not support subhypothesis B, but neither do they categorically disprove it.

(See TABLE A: SENSING-INTUITION MESSAGE SELECTION, page 27.)

Thinking Subjects, T & F Messages

Subjects with a Thinking preference chose T messages with 48% frequency, 1% more often than they chose F messages. This average includes a +13% frequency for stand-alone heads (44% to 31%). It also includes two negative frequencies -- -7% for brochures (47% to 54%) and -3% for news release heads and leads (54% to 57%). Overall, these findings offer slight support for subhypothesis C.

Feeling Subjects, T & F Messages

Feeling subjects selected Feeling messages 12% more frequently than they selected T messages (61% to 49%). This finding is echoed in two of the three message categories -- +35% frequency for brochures (74% to 39%) and +3% frequency for news release heads and leads (60% to 57%). There was no difference in the selection frequency of stand-alone heads (50% to 50%). These findings give strong support to subhypothesis B.

Thinking Message, T & F Subjects

In the Thinking/Feeling dimension, the data give similar support for the research hypothesis.

On the average, Thinking subjects selected Thinking messages in 48% of the cases, virtually as often as Feeling subjects chose Thinking messages (49%). In the specific message areas, this selection ranges from a 54% high for news release heads and leads

(-3% re: F's) to 47% for the brochure (+8% re: F's) and 44% for the stand-alone headlines (-6% re: F's). These findings are too inconclusive to offer support for subhypothesis C.

Feeling Message, T & F Subjects

For Feeling subjects, the preference was stronger and more consistent. Overall, F's chose F messages 61% of the time, with 14% more frequency than the selection of F messages by T's. The specifics of this are 74% for brochures (+20% re: T's), 60% for news release heads and leads (+3% re: T's), and 50% for stand-alone heads (+19% re: T's). These findings strongly support subhypothesis D.

(See TABLE B: THINKING-FEELING MESSAGE SELECTION, page 28.)

Seen in their entirety, the findings in this pilot study offer significant support for the general research hypothesis that subjects will prefer messages which exhibit the dominant characteristics of their personal psychological type preferences in communication-relevant dimensions. Subhypotheses A and D are very strongly supported, while the findings are neutral or only slightly supportive regarding subhypotheses B and C.

TABLE A: SENSING-INTUITION MESSAGE SELECTION

	Selections		Difference
OVERALL	by S's	by N's	in frequency
S Message	66%	44%	+22%
N Message	63%	53%	-10%
Difference in frequency	+3%	+9%	
STAND-ALONE HEADLINES	by S's	by N's	
S Message	65%	33%	+32%
N Message	56%	33%	-23%
Difference in frequency	+9%	±0%	
BROCHURES	by S's	by N's	
S Message	88%	61%	+27%
N Message	71%	72%	+1%
Difference in frequency	+17%	+11%	
NEWS RELEASE HEADS & LEADS	by S's	by N's	
S Message	45%	39%	+6%
N Message	61%	55%	-6%
Difference in frequency	-16%	+16%	

TABLE B: THINKING-FEELING MESSAGE SELECTION

	Selections		Difference
OVERALL	*by T's*	*by F's*	*in frequency*
T Message	**48%**	*49%*	*-1%*
F Message	*47%*	**61%**	*+14%*
Difference in frequency	*+1%*	*+12%*	
STAND-ALONE HEADLINES	*by T's*	*by F's*	
T Message	**44%**	*50%*	*-6%*
F Message	*31%*	**50%**	*+19%*
Difference in frequency	*+13%*	*±0%*	
BROCHURES	*by T's*	*by F's*	
T Message	**47%**	*39%*	*+8%*
F Message	*54%*	**74%**	*+20%*
Difference in frequency	*-7%*	*+35%*	
NEWS RELEASE HEADS & LEADS	*by T's*	*by F's*	
T Message	**54%**	*57%*	*-3%*
F Message	*57%*	**60%**	*+3%*
Difference in frequency	*-3%*	*+3%*	

DISCUSSION

Preliminary research suggests that the theory of psychological type offers insights and applications for public relations communicators, especially in their endeavors to formulate effective messages for their target publics. As communication is made more effective, public relations is enriched as a profession. As the capacity for dialogue is enhanced, so is the relationship between an organization and its publics.

Implications

The introduction to this report notes the potential benefits of psychological type theory when applied to public relations. This study deals with the concept of preference, specifically the correlation between psychological type and communication preference. Implicit in this is a close link to message effectiveness. An effective message is one which is successful in leading the reader/viewer/listener through the hierarchy of public relations objectives -- attention, acceptance, and action.

In some ways, this research merely validates common sense. People pay attention to messages which attract their interest. But it strives for a practical application which goes beyond the obvious. The significance of this research lies in the guidance it can offer communicators for developing and constructing messages with attributes which are likely to be preferred by target publics.

Through this pilot study, the hypothesis is explored in only a preliminary manner. Nevertheless, this researcher believes that a foundation has been put in place to show the usefulness of type theory for public relations. Overall, the early evidence suggests a positive link between the psychological preferences of individuals (and by extension, the aggregation of those individuals into publics) and the psychological type inherent in messages. There is no reason to suspect this relationship is anything other than causal.

The study also supports the conclusion that the information-gathering dimension of Sensing/Intuition and the decision-making dimension of Thinking/Feeling are the two dimensions with the most benefit to applications in the various areas of public and inter-group communication.

There is one over-riding suggestion which can be made for public relations communications:

- ***Guideline #1: Whenever possible, public relations communicators should use messages with the same psychological types as the target public.***

The findings in this pilot study support the hypothesis. Communication is enhanced when the psychological type of the message is consonant with the psychological type of the person receiving the message. This finding is in harmony with one of the basic tenets of public relations, indeed of all forms of persuasive communication: Formulate the message with the audience in mind. What this research uncovers is an additional set of tools -- those related to psychological type -- to facilitate the tailoring of message to audience.

An obvious issue is related to the usefulness of these findings: How does one know the predominant psychological type of various publics? A public relations practitioner would have little use for psychological type applications if the target publics cannot be assessed as to their type characteristics. Two remedies suggest themselves.

The Center for Application of Psychological Type already has generated preference charts for a variety of demographic categories including age, sex, occupation, etc. If a message is intended for a public of registered nurses, for example, MBTI data identifies their predominant characteristics as Sensing-Feeling (57%S-67%F). Likewise medical doctors 53%S-51%F, nuns 60%S-82%F, female adult high school dropouts 72%S-58%F, artists 91%N-70%F, police officers 78%S-83%T, and so on for about 350 other demographic subgroups. Public relations planners easily can obtain this information as part of their project research.

Additionally, it is possible to do a sampling of the publics involved in a particular public relations campaign or project, using the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. Thus the sample, if statistically representative, could provide valid and reliable insights into the public as a whole.

(Caution must be exercised, as ethically the MBTI instrument should be used only by persons trained and certified for its use. MBTI materials can be purchased from the Center for Applications of Psychological Type only by persons certified by the center as having demonstrated familiarity with psychological measures.)

Three other common lessons may be drawn from even the preliminary findings in this pilot study to provide guidance for public relations communicators wishing to apply psychological type theory to more general audiences.

- ***Guideline #2: When the psychological type of your public is unknown, assume a preference within the public for the Sensing message for information-gathering purposes.***

The S message seems to command more attention and interest than the N message. Since the general American population exhibits the Sensing preference by a 3:1 margin over the Intuitive, it may be appropriate that (with no specific indications to the contrary) the public relations practitioner should favor the S message as having the greater statistical potential for making a positive impact on general audiences.

The effect of using an S message is bipartisan. S's will be more likely to attend to it. N's, meanwhile, as a distinct minority group, have been socialized toward accepting S characteristics (Myers & Myers, 1980). Perhaps this is because N's, who are attracted to possibility, can take the same data that an S interprets as factual and see possibilities and other characteristics of Intuition. Whatever the reason, the data in this preliminary study suggests that the S message functions somewhat as a generic one for a mixed-type public.

- ***Guideline #3: Use both Thinking and Feeling approaches for decision-making purposes.***

This seems especially useful with messages of sufficient scope (for example, news releases, brochures, direct mail pieces, video presentations, speeches and statements, etc.). Such a complementary provision of both logical and emotional information for decision-making echoes the conventional wisdom of persuasive communication, which notes that people base attention, acceptance, and action on the two aspects of reality -- reason and sentiment. The blend could take place within a single message, or it might occur through the development of complementary separate messages.

The Message Type Indicator itself can be applied to messages being formulated for guidance toward creating a message of a particular type. An analogy to this might be a readability scale which, with the comprehension level it yields, guides the writer or editor to prepare a message appropriate for a particular level. Similarly, the wording of the descriptor questions within the MTI can lead a public relations planner or writer to design messages of the particular psychological type sought.

- *Guideline #4: Psychological type applications to public relations are very complex. Don't expect a guarantee of effectiveness.*

Type theory may provide insight into how communication can be made more effective, but it offers no silver bullet. For example, in this preliminary study's use of the Communication Preference survey, the Intuitive subjects failed to preferentially select any of the choices in the category of stand-along headlines. N's gave four of the five lowest interest ratings in the entire survey to the headline options.

There are at least three possibilities for this. First, Intuitives may have learned, as the minority type, to operate in a Sensing world with S messages. Second, since the headlines dealt with the topic of dieting, this may indicate that N's simply are less interested in this topic, rather than a lack of association with the type characteristics of a headline. Third, perhaps because N's are more independent they simply are more difficult to reach with a message that does not interest them.

Meanwhile, within this pilot study Intuitive subjects gave preference to Sensing messages rather than Intuitive ones in two of the three message categories. Coupled with the finding noted in the previous paragraphs, the researcher offers two tentative (and as yet untested) conclusions:

One, Sensing persons seem to prefer Sensing messages for most content areas.

Two, Intuitive persons seem more likely to selectively screen out messages in content areas which do not interest them. But when they are interested in a content area, they will use both S and N messages with equal ease.

Whatever complex relationship may exist among the variables, the ambiguity should raise a caution to anyone tempted to oversimplify the benefits of type theory for public relations uses. Regardless of the degree of sophistication with which public relations planners can mount a persuasive campaign, the outcome is never guaranteed. We can encourage the attention of members of the target publics and their subsequent postures in attitude and behavior. We can make it easier, even more likely, that they will hear, agree with, and act on our messages.

But type theory does not let us cast a spell. Fittingly, our publics retain control over how they react to our messages.

In a related area, when the Message Type Indicator was analyzed for intercoder reliability, an interesting anomaly was discovered. Research assistants with Intuitive characteristics reported a high degree of consistency in assessing the psychological type in public relations messages. However, persons with Sensing characteristics in most cases assigned the Intuitive label to every message they encountered. The researcher speculates, prior to follow-up research and formal analysis, that this may be due to the predispositions intrinsic to the Sensing/Intuitive dimension.

N subjects seem attentive to the subtleties and variations among various characteristics. Thus they can readily differentiate among the criteria set forth for analyzing messages.

S subjects, however, seem oblivious to all but the most strongly obvious dissimilarities among the criteria. Thus it may be that they seldom differentiate between fact and non-fact (idea, opinion, possibility, and so on) and apply the non-fact label by default in the absence of strongly factual message content.

Limitations

The researcher notes the obvious sampling limitation in this preliminary study. Because of the small number of subjects, the findings are not statistically significant, and they fail to exhibit satisfactory reliability or validity.

Further Research

There is an obvious need to continue this area of exploration in greater depth. The researcher already has begun a follow-up study with a larger sample (N=300±). This study features several refinements of the Communication Preference survey, including the addition of sections on print public service advertisements and bumper stickers -- each having visual components -- as well as a change in focus in the headline section. It also will force respondents to rank order their preferences within various message categories. When completed, this study will provide a base to subject the findings to more sophisticated statistical analysis. The researcher also intends to analyze the findings from an age perspective to learn if there are any implications related to age, maturity, and personal experience with various types of messages.

If the larger sample results in findings similar to the preliminary study, particular focus should then be given to the differences in the impact of same-type messages between Intuitive and Sensing subjects.

Follow-up study also will be useful in the area of application. It would be helpful to be able to identify techniques and demonstrate their ability for predicting the effectiveness of messages produced for various public relations purposes.

More work should be done on the Message Type Indicator, specifically with an eye toward its reliability and validity as an effective measurement instrument. Special attention should be given to the issue of intercoder reliability and the anomaly noted in the Implications section above.

Further, additional research is needed on the predictability of message effectiveness as it relates to various levels of intensity. Consideration of this factor may provide useful nuances to the application of type theory.

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Perceptions of Journalists and Public Relations Practitioners Toward Their Own and Each Other's Roles: Coorientation and Q Analyses

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Perceptions of Journalists and Public Relations Practitioners Toward Their Own and Each Other's Roles: Coorientation and Q Analyses

Abstract

This study examines perceptual patterns of journalists and public relations practitioners regarding their occupational roles, news values, and working relationship. Using role theory, the coorientational model and Q-methodology, this study describes and compares the predominant perceptual patterns the two groups have toward their own and each other's roles. The study found low agreement, low congruency, but high accuracy between the journalists' and PR persons' perceptions. The factor analysis of the Q-sorts produced two distinct, uncorrelated types--The Journalists Type and PR Practitioners Type. The Journalists Type demonstrated non-participant characteristics, while the PR practitioners Type was strongly oriented toward manager role.

Perceptions of Journalists and Public Relations Practitioners Toward Their Own and Each Other's Roles: Coorientation and Q Analyses

Background

One of many problems PR practitioners are facing today is that they, known as the "image makers," have been unsuccessful in building good image for themselves, especially with one of their important publics--the journalists. Despite PR practitioners' earnest efforts, previous research has shown that journalists and public relations practitioners have had a "love-hate" relationship since the beginning of the public relations practice (Ryan and Martinson, 1988). Jeffers (1977) commented that in no other news/source relationship does conventional wisdom suggest such a vast difference as in the relationship between newsmedia personnel and public relations people. Although journalists have given public relations sources a credit as contributors to the news content (Baxter, 1981), they still carry antagonistic feelings toward the practitioners. After reviewing studies on the relationship between journalists and public relations persons, Ryan and Martinson (1988) concluded:

> The evidence is quite clear: Journalists do not have great respect for practitioners in general and they consider themselves superior in many ways to public relations persons. Perhaps the most important, journalists cannot predict practitioners' views accurately. (p. 132)

The wavering relationship between the two groups has raised a number of issues such as news decision making, ethics, skills and professionalism. Previous research dating from White's classic gatekeeping study (1950) has consistently shown that editor's news selection is partly based on his or her own experience and attitudes. The editor's perceptions and attitudes toward public relations practitioners are seen as one of the factors influencing journalists' responses to information service offered by public relations sources.

The influence of editor's attitudes on the acceptance of public relations work has been evidenced in an experiment conducted by Aronoff (1975). He found Texas editors judged stories attributed as written by reporters more favorably than when the same stories were attributed as written by PR writers. The researcher explained that this seemed to be a function of the public relations practitioners' low credibility which was associated with journalists' negative attitudes and perceptions regarding public relations.

Purpose of the Study

This study examined the views and perceptions print journalists and public relations practitioners have about their occupational roles, news orientation, and their working relationship. Three coorientation measures--agreement, congruency, and accuracy--were examined to explain each group's estimated and actual perceptions. The study also attempted to see whether the respondents from the two professions would separately cluster into two distinct groups. Through the Q-sort technique and factor analysis, perceptual patterns of each group will be distinguished and compared. The research questions of the study were (1) What are each group's perceptions on journalistic roles, PR roles, news values, and their working relationship?; (2) What does each group think the other group thinks about those issues?; (3) Are those perceptions agreed, congruent, and accurate?; and (5) What are the dominant role behaviors of journalists and PR practitioners?

Theoretical Framework

Role theory was selected as the theoretical framework of the study because it helps suggest and organize cross perceptions of position holders between the two occupations. Role theory suggests that the view one holds of one's role in an interaction process is a significant factor governing one's behavior in that process (Gross, Mason, and McEachern, 1958; Biddle and Thomas, 1966). Further, the theory posits that our behavior also stems from how we think others see us and what we think they expect from us.

This study viewed public relations officers and newspersons as occupying specific roles in an interactive communication process--the role of information source and the role of information channel, respectively. Therefore, the study expected, as Nimmo (1964) suggested, to find different patterns of role expectation between these two groups.

The study applied two constructs in role theory--role-taking and role conflicts. Role-taking is a process that allows one to "get inside" the perspective of others (Hewitt, 1976). In the coorientation model, when a journalist is estimating a PR practitioner's evaluation of certain issue, he/she is taking a role of the other, acting "as if" he/she is in the practitioner's position.

Role conflict arises when a role actor perceives that he/she is confronted with incompatible expectations. Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958) postulated two types of role conflict--inter-role conflict and intra-role conflict.

Inter-role conflict occurs when two or more incompatible or contradictory roles are held simultaneously by the same person. Intra-role conflict emerges when a person is faced with contradictory expectations of his or her role by different audiences.

Applying these concepts to the context of this study, the implication of inter-role conflict would apply in a job-changing situation. The journalist who chose to enter a public relations career might be expected to suffer from inter-role conflict. Regarding intra-role conflict, findings in previous studies suggested the intra-role conflict appeared to be a potential problem for PR practitioners (Belz, 1984). Journalists were found to hold a set of beliefs about PR practitioners which was almost in contrast to the practitioners' actual self-concepts. The practitioners, therefore, might face with conflicting expectations about their role from one of their valuable publics--the press.

Literature Review

Journalist-Public Relations Practitioner Relationship

Newspeople have been known to call PR persons as "flacks" while PR practitioners, along with administrators they work for, think journalists are incompetent, exaggerating and inclined to sensationalize the negative (Wentworth, 1981). Although Swartz

(1983) contended that the tasks of journalists and PR practitioners have much in common, the negative attitudes anchored by both groups might make the PR/reporter working relationship a difficult one.

Previous studies have found the relationship between the press and public information officials to be both adversarial and cooperative. Other scholars suggested that the "give-and-take" model seems to best describe the relationship between the two communicator groups.

Adversarial Orientation

Although journalists and PR practitioners were found to exhibit similar professional attributes (Nayman, McKee and Lattimore, 1977), many studies revealed feelings of superiority and animosity on the journalists' part toward the practitioners (Feldman, 1961; Aronoff, 1975; Bourland, 1982; Belz, 1984).

Feldman (1961), for example, discovered that the majority of city editors in his survey carried negative images against PR people, stating that "PR men too frequently insist on promoting products, services and other activities which do not legitimately deserve promotion." The editors also considered most press releases as straight advertising and that the PR persons tried "to deceive the press by attaching too much importance to a trivial uneventful happening."

Using expectation states theory to investigate the PR/journalist relationship, Jeffers (1977) found a skewed perception among journalists toward public relations persons. While the journalists considered PR practitioners whom they knew and worked with to be of equal status, they thought other general practitioners were unequal in status to them. Further, the journalists believed they are more ethical and more skillful than PR persons are, both the general and specific ones.

A major study documenting negative attitudes of media personnel toward PR practitioners was conducted by Aronoff (1975). Surveying attitudes of journalists and PR practitioners in Texas, he found that journalists held negative views toward PR persons and ranked PR's occupational status the lowest among 16 occupations. They also viewed PR people rather low in terms of source credibility. Moreover, while the PR practitioners saw their news values to be almost identical to those of the journalists, the journalists perceived news orientations of the PR practitioners just the opposite of their own. The practitioners were also able to estimate correctly the journalists' news values.

Many subsequent studies have built on Aronoff's work, extended measurement tools to include the coorientational measurement model and Q-sort technique (Lee, 1978; Bourland, 1982; Kopenhaver et al., 1984; Belz, 1984; Stegall and Sanders, 1986). Similar findings were reported--journalists were more likely to view PR persons negatively than vice versa and that the practitioners were able to predict journalists' responses more accurately.

Cooperative-Exchange Theory

Despite the seeming antagonistic views of journalists toward PR people, many scholars found the relationship between both groups to be less adversarial than cooperative (Nimmo, 1964; Sigal, 1973; Sachsman, 1976; Jeffers, 1977, Brody, 1984; Kopenhaver et al., 1984; Stegall and Sanders, 1986). In fact, Jeffers (1977) discovered that journalists in general perceived the relationship as slightly cooperative, while public relations practitioners saw it as much more so. In a study of reporter-source interaction in a city government, Gieber and Johnson (1961) concluded that reporters and sources cooperated in terms of their assigned communication roles.

While Nimmo (1964) found the compatible relationship to be the most common among Washington public information officers and reporters, Sigal (1973) maintained that competition coexists with cooperation in the reporter/source relationship. Cutlip and Center (1982) agreed, noting that the practitioners and journalists have functioned in a "mutually dependent relationship," sometimes as adversaries, sometimes as colleagues cooperating in respective self-interest. The notion was well received by several scholars, some of them proposed the concept of the exchange model, which contends that news depends largely on the nature of the exchange transactions between reporters and sources (Sigal, 1973; Miller, 1978). In this symbiotic relationship, the source gives reporters information which they may not otherwise have access. At the same time, reporters provide the publicity that the source wants for personal or organizational interests.

In sum, interdependence seems to be the key to understand the interaction between the reporters and their sources and the alledged battle or antipathy between newspersonnel and PR sources may be more imagined than real.

None of the studies reviewed above applied role theory to explain how each group forms its conceptions or perceptions toward their roles. A review of literature revealed that a few studies used role theory to explain or assess the perceptions of journalists and PR practitioners. These include research by Nimmo (1964) and Drew (1972). Although these two studies have laid some groundwork for other scholars, they, however, were exploratory in nature and did not employ statistical tests to back up their findings. An empirical study using role theory to examine the relationship between two communicator groups was conducted by Belz (1984). Belz defined roles in terms of duties, rights, skills and personal characteristics. The primary findings of the study were consistent with previous research. That is, journalists and PR practitioners differed sharply in their perceptions of the PR role, while both held similar perceptions of the journalistic role.

Research Hypotheses

Based on the previous literature, five research hypotheses were formulated to examine the three coorientation variables--agreement, congruency and accuracy--regarding the two groups' views on their roles, news orientations, and working relationship. It is expected that journalists will misperceive and mispredict the PR practitioner's views. Conversely, PR practitioners will do a better job in estimating their counterparts' points of view and will share most of the journalists' beliefs.

H 1: There will be a high agreement between the journalists' views and PR practitioners' views.

H 2: There will be a low congruence between the journalists' views and their perceptions of the PR practitioners' views.

H 3: There will be a high congruence between the PR practitioners' views and their perceptions of journalists' views.

H 4: There will be a low accuracy between the journalists' perceptions of the PR practitioners' views and the practitioners' actual views.

H 5: There will be a high accuracy between the PR practitioners' perceptions of the journalists' views and the journalists' actual views.

The PR roles used in this study are adapted from Broom and Smith (1979), Grunig and Hunt (1984), and Nimmo (1964). Four PR roles are identified: Problem solver/Manager, Information Technician, Mediator/Communication Facilitator, and Promoter. Journalistic roles in this study are drawn from Dunn (1969), Johnston et al. (1976), Culbertson (1983), Fico (1985), and Weaver and Wilhoit (1986). For the purpose of this study, four journalistic roles are identified: Neutral Observer, Interpreter/Translator, Watchdog/Representative, and Advocate. See Appendix I for conceptual definitions of these roles.

Methodology

McLeod and Chaffee's (1973) coorientation measurement model was used to examine the levels of agreement, congruency, and accuracy of journalists' and PR persons' perceptions. Q-sorting technique, based upon the work of William Stephenson (1953, 1964), was used to collect data. The Q cards contain statements designed to incorporate journalistic roles, PR roles, news orientation, and journalist-practitioner working relationship. The original 68 Q-statements were taken from existing literature on journalist-practitioner relationship and their roles. After a pretest, the statements were reduced to 58. See Appendix II for the 58 Q-statements.

Ten print journalists and 12 PR practitioners in Illinois and Missouri comprised the sample of the study. The journalists were chosen on the criteria that they have regular contacts with PR practitioners and have decision-making power over PR materials. The PR sample represented such organizations as major corporations, moderate-size businesses, universities, and PR agencies.

The subjects in this study were asked to sort a specific number of statements along an 11-scale continuum according to their agreement and disagreement. The subjects sorted the statements twice; first, according to what they personally think about the statements; and second, according to what they think the other group (journalists or PR practitioners) would think about the statements.

Pearson correlation statistics was conducted to test the five hypotheses. Since statistical significance with N = 58 at 0.05 alpha level requires a correlation of only .273 which accounts for very little variance (7.45 percent), a sample correlation coefficient of .60 is set as a criterion to determine if each correlation is meaningfully significant. This accounts for 36 percent, or one-third, of the common variance between any two patterns Rho tests were conducted to test whether each correlation is equal or greater than .60 at .05 alpha level.

QUANAL computer program was used to conduct the Q-analysis (Van Tubergen, 1975). The correlations of respondents' sortings are factor analyzed, producing clusters or "types" of persons who responded to the statements similarly. A two-factor solution was requested to determine whether there would be a dichotomy of journalists and PR practitioners types.

Findings

Contrasted to what was expected, the study found a low agreement between the two groups' views ($r = .41$). Rho test showed that the correlation was not significantly greater than .60 level to establish a meaningful relationship ($z = -1.91$, $p > .05$). Assumed to have motivations to agree with the journalists, the PR practitioners were expected to have high agreement with what the latter thinks. The finding indicated such was not the case. It appeared that each group held different viewpoints regarding their overall evaluations of the 58 statements.

Insert Figure 1 Here

Further analysis showed that specifically the two groups held diverse views about the two roles ($\underline{t} = -3.35$, $p < .001$ for journalists' role; and -3.71. $p < .001$ for PR practitioners' role). But no significant difference was found in their news values orientation ($\underline{t} = .94$, $p > .05$).

Regarding congruency--a state of intrapersonal communication--both groups fared very low ($r = .22$). There were no similarities between each group's views and the perceptions each attributes to the other. In other words, each group did not perceive its view to be similar to the view of its counterparts. The lack of the congruency, or what Rogers and Bhowmik (1971) called "homophily," could affect source credibility and acceptability as Aronoff (1975) has evidenced. Furthermore, since journalists did not perceive the PR sources were similar to them, the effectiveness of PR communication could also be jeopardized.

Given the low agreement and low congruency among the members of the two professions, it is interesting to find that each group accurately perceived its counterparts' actual views. The journalists' estimates of the practitioners' viewpoints were significantly and meaningfully correlated with the latter's actual stance ($r = .75$; rho test, $z = 2.07$, $p < .05$). The high accuracy was expected to be the case for the PR group ($r = .81$; rho test, $z = 3.22$, $p < .05$), but unlikely for the journalists. Therefore, the journalists in this study seemed to exhibit well their role-taking ability, being able to anticipate the practitioners' actual views--the finding never before evidenced in previous research. A demographic variable may help partly explain this new finding. Half of the journalists participating in this study have worked in public relations at one point in time. Hence, they might understand the PR side better than their peers in other studies.

Nonetheless, the result supports an argument of Chaffee et al. (1969) that high accuracy between two persons or two groups does not necessarily mean the groups also have high agreement or high congruency. In other words, the accurate estimates that one group has for the other do not always indicate that conflicts do not exist. In the case of the journalists and the PR practitioners in this study, they successfully managed to understand the other group's thoughts, even though they do not agree with them.

Results of Q-Analysis

The results derived from the Q-factor analysis showed that journalists clearly distinguished themselves from PR practitioners. The two-factor solution yielded two divergent and uncorrelated response patterns ($r = .24$, $p > .05$)--Type I (journalists), and Type II (PR practitioners). Type I was consisted of nine journalists and three PR practitioners, while Type II contained nine PR people and one journalist. The two types accounted for 47 percent of the total variance, with Type I accounting for 26.39 percent, and Type II, 20.51 percent. Table 1 presents the re-ordered factor matrix of the two-factor solution.

Insert Table 1 Here

Except some similarities, which will be later reported, the two groups held the opposite views regarding journalistic roles and PR roles. The journalist type strongly believed in objectivity and the watchdog role of newspersons. They saw their roles as a combination of a neutral observer, a representative and a translator. The practitioners, in contrast, disagreed that journalists perform such roles. The PR persons' skepticism of the reporters' neutrality was also found in the Stegall and Sanders' research. The PR group, on the other hand, saw its roles as a communication manager and planner and, to a lesser degree, a technician. The journalists type disagreed and regarded them as promoters. Type I Journalists did not think that PR practitioners are their partners in the news gathering and dissemination process. They also slightly disagreed that PR persons help them obtain accurate and newsworthy information. Type II practitioners agreed with both statements. For the statements with which both types agreed and disagreed, see Table 2 and 3.

The journalists' negative views replicated the findings in earlier studies (Aronoff, 1975; Stegall and Sanders, 1986; Kopenhaver et al. (1984). The results suggested that perceptual bias or misattribution existed among the members of the two groups. Why is it so? Cline (1982) and Honaker (1981) may be right when they said journalists' negative attitude may have stemmed from the education process. Of 12 subjects belonging to the journalists type, all but one have a degree in journalism. Another reason was given by Feldman (1961) who noted that although most journalists recognized the difference between public relations and press agentry, in actuality they grouped the performance of the non-professional PR practitioners with that of professional ones. So they tended to see all PR people as promoters as they do to the press agents. According to Ryan and Martinson (1988), an unpleasant experience with a few "bad apples" may also partly explain the journalists' continuing misperceptions toward PR people.

Despite their differences in role perceptions, there were areas where the two groups agreed, most importantly the one involving their working relationship (see Table 4 for the consensus items). The examination of the consensus items demonstrated the adversarial relationship between the two professions did not exist. Both groups strongly disagreed that their working relationship is more adversarial than cooperative. The finding was consistent with previous studies, Jeffers (1977) among others, which found that PR practitioners/newspersons relationship is more cooperative than adversarial. Although the two groups are so different in terms of their role perceptions, they did not see the other group as their enemy. Furthermore, they both rejected the notion that PR people do not understand the journalists' job. These findings indicate a hopeful and encouraging sign for the working relationship of both professions.

The results obtained from the Q factor analysis also showed dominant role behaviors of each group. The management function of PR practitioners seemed to have great influence on the PR respondents in this study. They also recognized technician role and, to a lesser extent, a promoter role. The manager-technician role types conformed to what Ferguson (1979), Dozier (1983), and Reagan et al. (1990) have found.

According to the findings, Grunig and Hunt's (1984) public information model, which emphasizes information-giving service of the practitioners, did not seem to exert an influence on the PR persons' view. In fact, they slightly disagreed with the concept of practitioners being "journalists in residence." The PR respondents in this study did not appear to see themselves as in-house reporters as Turk (1986) has suggested.

As far as journalistic roles are concerned, the journalists' response patterns in this study could precisely be identified with Dunn's (1969) reporter types--participant and non-participant. Type I journalists prescribed themselves to the non-participant characteristics--neutral transmitter, translator, and representative. They also rejected the participant view which endorses a belief that a journalist is an advocate who precipitates actions and participates in decision-making process in a society.

Discussion and Conclusion

The coorientation and Q analyses gave a similar finding--Journalists and PR practitioners held different perceptions toward their roles and their counterparts' roles. While PR persons saw themselves as managers, the journalists saw them as promoters. On the other hand, journalists believed they are neutral observers and the public's eyes and ears, but the practitioners did not think so. Role theory suggests that members of the two groups may experience intra-role conflict when they communicate with the other group. This implication upholds a remark by Belz (1984) that the intra-role conflict could be a potential problem for PR practitioners. In this study, however, it may also be a problem for journalists too.

Fortunately, since both groups were able to "second-guess" one another, they working relationshiop may not be as problematic as many expected. According to Stegall and Sanders (1986), "Communication may not lead to agreement, but it can lead to further understanding and that is an important first step in better relations." It seems that the journalists and PR practitioners in this study have attained the "first step" of the better relationship. This improved situation may not only enhance the effectiveness of communication between the journalists and the PR practitioners, but may also benefit the public at large--the ultimate consumer of the public information generated by the two professions.

Because of the small number of subjects participating in the study, the extent to which these outcomes are representative of the perceptual patterns of the total population of journalists and PR people is unknown. However, it is hoped that the results of this study can be used in further research, which could examine other relevant groups interacting with journalists or PR practitioners. For example, the role perceptions between management people and PR persons or between business executives and journalists can be studied. The number of groups participating in the study could also be more than two. For instance, cross perceptions of four groups-- management, PR practitioners, journalists, and the public--about the PR roles would provide a richer understanding to the present body of knowledge of the field.

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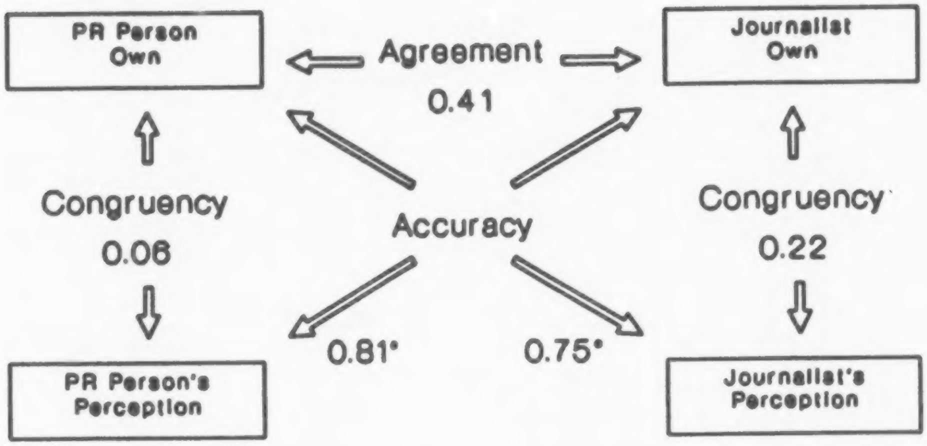
Figure 1. Correlation of Q-sorts for PR practitioners and Journalists. (N = 58)


PR Person Own
Agreement
0.41
Journalist Own
Congruency
0.06
Accuracy
Congruency
0.22
0.81*
0.75*
PR Person's Perception
Journalist's Perception

* r is significantly greater than 0.60 at the 0.05 level

TABLE 1. Re-ordered Oblimax Matrix for Two-Factor Solution

Respondent	I	II	Comm.	Pure
FACTOR I				
JR3	0.727	0.018	0.529	0.999
JR4	0.712	0.033	0.508	0.998
JR1	0.556	0.040	0.311	0.995
JR6	0.496	-0.037	0.247	0.995
JR8	0.706	0.054	0.502	0.994
JR2	0.776	0.070	0.608	0.992
JR7	0.748	0.093	0.568	0.985
JR5	0.809	0.152	0.678	0.966
PR3	0.534	-0.146	0.306	0.931
JR9	0.562	0.190	0.352	0.897
PR2	0.526	0.271	0.350	0.789
PR10	0.449	0.433	0.390	0.519
FACTOR II				
JR10	0.015	0.573	0.329	0.999
PR6	-0.055	0.724	0.527	0.994
PR1	-0.107	0.720	0.530	0.978
PR8	0.093	0.499	0.257	0.966
PR5	-0.152	0.705	0.520	0.956
PR9	0.184	0.609	0.405	0.917
PR12	0.288	0.727	0.612	0.864
PR4	0.379	0.762	0.725	0.801
PR7	-0.477	0.514	0.492	0.537
PR11	0.535	0.536	0.573	0.501
TOTAL VARIANCE				
- Per Factor	0.2639	0.2051	0.4690	
- Cumulative	0.2639	0.4690		
COMMON VARIANCE				
- Per Factor	0.5627	0.4373	1.0000	
- Cumulative	0.5627	1.0000		

Note: Factor I represents Journalists Type
Factor II represents PR Practitioners Type
JR stands for journalist respondent
PR stands for PR practitioner respondent

TABLE 2. Seventeen Items Most Agreed and Disagreed with by the Journalists Type

Item Number	Item Description	Z-score
43.	Accuracy is the most important value of a news story.	2.450
11.	A journalist serves as the public's eyes and ears.	2.059
5.	A journalist reports a news story with fairness, presenting as many sides of the story as possible.	1.825
44.	News is information that affects people's lives and welfare.	1.589
13.	A journalist has a professional obligation to act as a public watchdog, exposing any violations to the public trust.	1.538
7.	Because of the complexity of many political, social issues journalist has to translate those issues into layman language.	1.231
15.	For the sake of the public interest, a journalist should be free to investigate any public problems and governmental actions.	1.216
27.	A PR practitioner tries to cast information about the organization in the best light possible.	1.015
30.	It is part of a PR prcatitioner's responsibility to get positive media coverage for the company he/she represents.	1.015
41.	News judgment usually invoives heavy emphasis on conflict and bad news.	-1.001
54.	PR people do not understand such journalistic problems as meeting deadlines, attracting readers' interest.	-1.024
32.	A PR practitionner acts on behalf of both the public and the organization he/she works for.	-1.208

TABLE 2. Seventeen Items Most Agreed and Disagreed with by the Journalists Type (Continued).

Item Number	Item Description	Z-score
14.	A journallst is an adversary of public officials.	-1.240
49.	News is whatever my editor says it is.	-1.859
17.	A journalist is usually involved with a news story, maklng judgment in the story.	-1.917
18.	It's legitimate that a journalist expresses his/her views in a news story.	-2.081
46.	News is any story that sells.	-2.264

TABLE 3. Nineteen Items Most Agreed and Disagreed with by the PR Practitioners Type.

Item Number	Item Description	Z-score
22.	Public relations is a management function. The practitioners help management make communication policy decisions.	1.978
21.	A PR practitioner plans and manages an organization's public relations programs.	1.818
25.	A PR practitioner uses public opinion research to plan or evaluate public relations programs.	1.520
24.	A PR practitioner acts as an organization's expert on diagnosing and solving public relations problems.	1.510
39.	A PR practitioner handles technical aspects of producing PR materials.	1.317
23.	A PR practitioner's work involves anticipating, analyzing and interpreting public opinion, attitudes and issues which might impact the operations of the institution he/she represents.	1.221
58.	The abundance of information provided by PR practitioners has saved journalists' time and energy.	1.213
33.	A PR practitioner acts as a liaison, promoting a two-way communication between management and its various publics.	1.211
57.	PR practitioners help journalists obtain accurate, complete, and timely news.	1.031
30.	It is part of a PR practitioner's responsibility to get positive media coverage for the company he/she represents.	1.004
20.	A journalist acts as an advocate or a commentator on a broad range of issues.	-1.039

TABLE 3. Nineteen Items Most Agreed and Disagreed with by the PR Practitioners Type (Continued).

Item Number	Item Description	Z-score
16.	An important role of a journalist is to advocate and encourage the development of better public policies.	-1.303
14.	A journalist is an adversary of public officials.	-1.380
19.	It's legitimate for a journalist to point out what he/she perceives to be problems and suggest possible solutions.	-1.409
53.	Generally, the working relationship between PR persons and journalists is more adversarial than cooperative.	-1.497
3.	A journalist is a neutral observer detached from the events or activities he/she reports.	1.822
50.	The journalists and PR practitioners have such fundamental different goals that it is very difficult for members of the groups to work together.	-2.009
56.	Public relations is lower in status to journalism.	-2.425
54.	PR people do not understand such journalistic problems as meeting deadlines, and attracting readers' interest.	-2.486

TABLE 4. Selected Consensus Items of Two-Factor Solution (z-score is greater than +1.0 and -1.0).

Item Number	Item Description	Z-score
30.	It is part of a PR practitioner's responsibility to get positive media coverage for the company he/she represents.	1.01
19.	It's legitimate for a journalist to point out what he/she perceives to be problems and suggest possible solutions.	-1.13
53.	Generally, the working relationship between PR persons and journalists is more adversarial than cooperative.	-1.14
14.	A journalist is an adversary of public officials.	-1.31

Design of the Native Press:
A Cultural Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The American Indian press is over 164 years old. During these years there have been many changes as the medium matured and grew, gathering strength from within the tribal community. While the content and marketing of these publications are directly related to the Native people and culture they serve, the design and format are not. Many Native newspapers have adopted a EuroAmerican design format which may not be appropriate to their audience or community. This paper reports a survey whose purpose was to identify Native newspapers and provide a basic description of these publications. It is the first stage in a study that will focus on the graphic content of Native newspapers across the United States and Canada. This paper also introduces an approach to the design of Native newspapers which is culturally sensitive while recognizing tribal diversity. The basic visual principles often relied upon in design are an integral part of the Native culture and spirituality. Recognizing these cultural elements and applying them to the layout of a newspaper, as described in this paper, will result in a design format with which the Native reader is comfortable and communication is enhanced.

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"Much of the wisdom of the American Indians is written in symbols—a language without letters or sounds that speaks to that part of our nature which remembers."
(Hart, 1990)

Introduction

In January of 1991 I was asked to be a judge for a national design competition for Native publications as a part of the yearly awards program sponsored by the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA). I was immediately faced with a dilemma. How does one offer suggestions for the design or improvement of Native newspapers without recommending deletion of the very characteristics that could make the newspaper a uniquely Native publication? It remains essential that, as design consultants, we not make aesthetic judgements that would turn Native newspapers into replicas of the dominant media. If history has taught us anything, we should not follow in the footsteps of the early missionaries or government officials and repeat the injustices of forced assimilation. Education was an important goal of federal Indian policy throughout the nineteenth century and schools were traditionally a central focus of missionary and reform activity. Many Indian family histories now include horror stories of boarding school life where children were presumably "raised to civilization" from savagery. Indian children were forbidden to practice their customs or speak their language. This push for assimilation forced them to dress, speak and act the same as the those who were members of the dominant society. It required that they renounce their heritage and look the same as everyone else (Hoxie, 1988, pp.216,217).

The similarity often seen in newspaper formats today has been referred to as "cookie-cutter" design. If when composing for the Native press, we do not take into consideration the culture but simply turn them into clones of their EuroAmerican neighbors, perhaps we should characterize the layout style as 'boarding school design.' A layout format developed for one audience may not serve others effectively and this missionary design approach spreads into other cultures who may "be better served by home-grown designs" (Barnhurst, 1991, p.6). A policy of assimilation in newspaper design may allow that which has its own unique character and personality to be homogenized and move us a step closer to a "cookie-cutter" world.

Aesthetic consideration is important in design and layout but like taste, may be very subjective. Aesthetics have to do with the concepts of form, content, truthfulness and ethics. When aesthetics is applied to visual communication the focus is on perception (Berger, 1989). To understand the significance of cross-cultural design and aesthetics the link between culture and communication must be recognized and consideration given to the fact that perception varies according to culture. Rather than giving all people and cultures the same visual identity, multicultural awareness and sensitivity should celebrate the differences. An understanding of intercultural communication takes into consideration the idea that how we see and how we feel is determined, to a large extent, by the culture in which we were raised (Moriarty & Rohe, 1992).

"Visual communicators laboring in mass communication must understand the social, economic, political, and artistic conditions that are part of the environment in which the communication will be received" (Denton, 1992, p.46). Or in other words, successful visual communication includes an understanding of the community being served. And in order to have a clear understanding of a community, an awareness of the history, traditions and religious concerns of that particular community is necessary. Stereotypes and false perceptions are often found in stories written about Indian country issues. A competent reporter or designer will gain a more accurate perspective by researching the past of a particular tribe. "The media breed distrust in Indian communities when they remain ignorant of a tribe's unique form of government, its laws, its history and people" (Sheppard, 1991, pp14,15). Good newspaper design, while often providing a visual shock to the audience, should also create an environment in which readers can relax and be comfortable. And a comfortable environment is one which is consistent with the audiences' perceptions.

The graphic design and layout of Native newspapers should be an act of cultural empathy. Native communities have many dimensions which should be studied and incorporated into the design of any publication whose content centers on these communities. This paper attempts to identify some visually significant aspects of the Native community and provide culturally appropriate ideas for the design of Native publications. Many examples used in the "Cultural Design Standards" section are from the Great Sioux Nation which includes the Lakota/Dakota tribes. These are the tribes that the author is more familiar with through research and personal experience.

It should be recognized that using the phrase "Native culture" is much the same as saying European culture. Just as Europe is made up of many countries each with their own language and culture, so too is the Native community of North America. There are 510 federally recognized tribes in the United States alone. Each tribe has its own unique visual identity, traditions and history. The design work of the Lakota people, a Plains Indian tribe, for example, is often very geometric and hard-edged. Woodland tribes such as the Chippewa or Ojibwa, on the other hand, often favor more organic, environmental designs. It would be obtuse and insensitive to utilize what some perceive as the visual elements of the Southwest tribes, a cactus or turquoise jewelry for example, in association with the Great Sioux Nation. While recognizing tribal differences this paper, however, will also attempt to provide an overview and concentrate on the cultural commonalities, of which there are many.

I use the word "Native" rather than "Native American" to encompass a wide variety of tribal affiliations including American Indians, Alaskan Natives and Native Peoples of Canada. Some consider the label "Native American" to be a misnomer because it can be applied to anyone born in America. The Lakota Times, the largest Indian advocacy newspaper in the United States, uses American Indian or Indian for generic purposes when speaking of many different tribes. The paper prefers to use the individual tribal affiliation when possible. For instance Navajo, Lakota, Ojibwa, Onondaga, etc. (Giago, 1991).

Several problems and concerns surfaced as a list of Native newspapers began to be developed. One concern was the lack of a definition of what constitutes the "Native press". Sharon and James Murphy in their 1981 book on American Indian journalism from 1828 to 1978 list 531 publications in 40 states that they identify as either Native newspapers or magazines

(Murphy, 1981, pp.177-194). The Murphys' directory, while an important survey, may have been too broad. Some of the publications listed have only their names or location with which to identify them as Native. *The Dakota Student*, for example, is listed as a Native publication in North Dakota. This is the student newspaper for the University of North Dakota where only 2% of the student population is Native. The Murphys also list the *Eagle Butte News* as a Native publication in South Dakota. This is a community newspaper located on the Cheyenne River Reservation. At the time the Murphys were compiling this list that newspaper was owned by my parents, who were the editors and publishers for 20 years. My parents, however, were not Indian and until the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe was relocated to Eagle Butte, from the banks of the Cheyenne River in the late 1950s and early 1960s their audience was primarily White.

Eleven years after the Murphy list, the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, in January of 1992, compiled a list of Native American publications. This list identified only 124 Native publications in 35 states. One reason for the reduction in the number of publications during this time period, other than that listed above, may be the growth of Indian activism in the 1970s when the Murphys were compiling their list. There was widespread communication activity during this time and the American Indian press of the 1970s was stronger and more active than at any other time in its history (Murphy, 1981, *xix*).

The Native American Journalists Association in May of 1991 compiled a list of Native media in the U.S. and Canada. This directory listed 479 publications of which 73 were tentatively identified as newspapers.

Newspapers are seldom identified as a separate and distinct medium in these various lists of publications. It is often left to the reader to identify which publications are newspapers versus newsletters, for example. This identification process is important and should be approached cautiously. How do we define the criteria for inclusion in a list of Native newspapers? The Native American Journalists Association does not have a written policy defining what constitutes the Native press although a person must be an enrolled member of a federally or state recognized tribe in order to be listed as a Native journalist. In order to qualify as an active member in NAJA a publication or media organization must be, a) directed primarily at informing Native American people or educating the non-Native American public about Native Americans, or b) sponsored by an organization, either profit or non-profit, whose governing body is predominantly Native American (NAPA, 1992).

According to the associate director for Research and Technology Studies at the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, the Center's definition of the Native American press is very general: any publication that considers itself a part of the Native American press qualifies (Pavlik, 1992) .

It's not a clearly defined area so perhaps that definition is the most reasonable one. Nonetheless the question remains as to why a publication defined itself as Native. The Native press may be defined by ownership, environment, audience or content. Is a newspaper a "Native newspaper" if it's owned by Native people or is it considered Native if it covers primarily Native issues? If the newspaper is located on a reservation is it considered a Native newspaper? What if the owners aren't Native, but the majority of the staff is?

What qualifies publications as newspapers and do the same criteria apply when defining the Native press as the mainstream press? In order to be defined as a "true newspaper" various criteria have been established for the mainstream press: 1) it must be published at least once a week; 2) it must be produced by mechanical means; 3) it must be available to anyone willing to pay the price, regardless of class or special interests; 4) it must print anything of interest to a general public, as contrasted with some of the religious and business publications; 5) it must have an appeal to a public of ordinary literary skill; 6) it must be timely; 7) it must have stability (Emery, 1962). Frequency of publication may be an important consideration when defining a Native newspaper. To be considered a newspaper does it have to be printed on a regular weekly or daily basis? Jeannette Henry, of the American Indian Historical Society, maintains that a Native paper must have been published regularly for a year before meriting classification as a newspaper (Murphy, 1981, p.70). Many Native newspapers are published monthly or quarterly—can we still define these publications as newspapers? What constitutes a "regular" basis in one society may not be defined as such in another.

The Murphys' definition of American Indian newspapers and publications does not, according to them, include publications produced solely by religious or government groups. They do, however, acknowledge the contributions of these agencies in the "pioneer efforts of Indian journalism" (Murphy, 1981, p. 70).

When compiling a listing of Native newspapers and periodicals in 1984, James Parrins and Daniel Littlefield also attempted to define the Native press. This definition included newspapers edited or published by American Indians or Alaska Natives and those whose primary purpose was to publish information about "contemporary" Native people. Unlike some "purists" who exclude any publication not edited or published by Native people, the authors included publications by non-Indians who "concerned themselves, for better or worse, with the contemporary Indian or Alaska Native and his affairs" (Littlefield & Parrins, 1984, p. *vii, viii*). Jeannette Henry, in the forward to *Let My People Know,* states that in addition to possessing journalistic skills, those who are a part of the Native press must have a "profound knowledge of Indian history, culture, and current affairs." According to Henry, "Indians themselves are the best editors and the best writers—in fact the best personnel for every part of the paper's production." She does go on to say, however, that this "feel" for Indian issues, for Indian affairs and history, and a knowledge of the people may also be felt by "those very close, in a deep personal sense, to the American Indian" (Murphy, 1981, p.viii).

Perhaps this need to categorize is out of place with the culture that surrounds the Native press. These various attempts do seem to indicate, however, that there is a need to list and define the Native press. Without them, critical reviews of Native issues and journalism are difficult and the efforts of those undertaking objective surveys of the Native communication industry are hampered. A study such as this will help individual North American Native publications define their purpose and function. Again, it must be questioned whether the function of a Native press is identical to that of the mainstream press which has, historically, served three purposes: "as a record of contemporary news and views; as a literary genre…; and, in the United States, as the physical product of an ongoing private business enterprise which mixes professional and profit-making motives" (Schwarzlose, 1987, p *xv*). A successful design format is developed in relationship to the goals of a publication. The function of a newspaper, for example, is different from that of a newsletter. This distinction should be obvious by format as well as by content.

Visual Images and the Native Culture

"Visual images are the heart and soul of the Native People." This is a statement made by one of the respondents to a survey conducted on the use of visual images in the Native press. Visual communication is of central importance in the Native culture. This centrality is well illustrated by their development of, and reliance upon visually based communication media. Visual symbols figure prominently in Native culture on shelters, clothing, rock paintings and carvings, winter counts, sign language, smoke signals—the list goes on. The indigenous people of North America are still quite biased toward visual media and are often more comfortable when expressing themselves through visual means. Too often this visual orientation survives but goes unrecognized or is misunderstood. EuroAmericans, by contrast, tend toward reliance upon verbal communication. They are more comfortable when transmitting information through highly abstract spoken or written symbols.

The Native press can give us a window through which to view not only today's stories, but the uniqueness of a particular culture. Given the non-text traditions of Native culture and the growing predominance of visual media that require few reading skills, it will be difficult for the printed media to survive in Indian country unless some changes are made. In order to compete with other media and gain their audiences' attention, Native newspapers should look at their design, format and packaging differently and not just as the dominant-culture form of journalism and graphics with a Native flavor. The visual may need to carry the story. Graphics may be a better delivery mechanism than words for certain forms of information.

Native newspaper practitioners should recognize that their readers' heritage is one where showing a story is as important as telling it. Their audience may embrace graphic imagery and visuals to satisfy informational needs much more readily than the White culture. Native newspapers, many of which are fairly young, shouldn't simply follow in the design footsteps of the traditional EuroAmerican publications, particularly when we already know that the cultural traditions and heritage of the Native People is colorful and visual. Although there will certainly be elements of design that may be transferred with success to a culturally sensitive layout, not all of the traditional layout principles may apply. Here we should listen to the Oglala Sioux Chief, Sitting Bull's advice to his people regarding their dealings with the EuroAmericans, "take what is useful and leave the rest by the side of the road."

A potentially useful metaphor for modern Native print media can be found in a medium used by Plains Indians to record history—the winter count. This calendrical account was the only record, other than oral, of their history that the Plains tribes are known to have kept. Usually a Plains Indian winter count consisted of pictographs depicting important or unusual events for each passing year. These pictographs were painted on tanned buffalo hides and were kept by Native historians who memorized a short text for each of the pictographs explaining their meaning. The term "winter count" derives from the Indian custom of reckoning time by means of "winters" rather than calendar years in the European sense (Howard, 1960).

Perhaps contemporary Native newspapers could be conceptualized as media which provide weekly or daily winter counts. These new winter counts should capture the best of a visual and oral tradition and marry it with a new, Information Age visual and oral practicality. The question is how does one design a Native publication that is readable and follows the individual characteristics of any particular tribe's cultural environment or visual landscape?

It is essential that studies be made of visual perception in Native culture. In order to attract Native viewers, as in any culture, we need to know what appeals to them and how particular visual messages are read and decoded. Directions, colors and numbers have cultural significance and are important in perception. The significance of these various elements should be recognized and then incorporated into the design and layout of publications whose audience are primarily Native people.

Survey of Native Newspapers

In a project completed at the University of North Dakota, a survey was undertaken to explore the graphic content of Native newspapers across North America. The short-term goal of the survey was to gather enough information for a basic description of Native publications and their use of visual images. The long-term objective was directed toward learning how graphics and visual images are used in the Native press and how important and culturally significant these visual images are perceived to be by the audience.

An initial roadblock in completing the survey was the lack of a current listing of Native newspapers. The Native American Journalists Association (NAJA) was helpful in this study and, working with the executive director of NAJA, a list of Native newspapers in the U.S. and Canada began to be developed. This remains an ongoing task and the directory is continually being updated.

Compiling a list of newspapers is difficult because the Native press is continually changing. This instability in the Native journalism industry is due to a variety of factors, some cultural and some economic. Most successful Native newspapers are published by the various tribes and these papers are often at the mercy of changing tribal politics or budgetary cuts. Sometimes tribally subsidized newspapers are accused of being the public relations tools of the government and change in leadership dooms their existence. Freedom of the press is an ongoing controversy in Indian country. In a study on advertising in Native newspapers, James Brodell found that the advertising staff were often inadequately trained in addition to struggling against problems which included poor transportation, geographical distances and buyer reluctance. These problems, according to Brodell, may be compounded by discrimination and a lack of respect for the Native American press (Brodell, 1991).

A total of 72 newspapers were identified from the Native publications list provided by NAJA. This list remains tentative and some of the publications possibly should not be identified as newspapers. The list includes the names of newspapers in Canada as well as the United States. The reason behind this decision is that Native people often do not recognize the international border and tribal groups freely cross between the two countries. Because this study focuses on the cultural aspects of design in the Native press, I chose to observe a cultural rather than a national boundary.

An initial questionnaire was distributed at the NAJA annual convention in Denver in March, 1991. This form was used to identify Native newspapers and to alert Native media practitioners that a survey was underway and would be mailed to their publications. Soon after the convention the survey was sent to 68 Native publications in the U.S. and Canada (see Appendix A). Twenty-five questionnaires were completed and returned. However, of the 25 responding publications, three were newsletters and one a "scholastic reader for young adults." These questionnaires were excluded from this analysis because the focus of this research is newspapers. This resulted in a return rate of 31% (21 of a total of 68 publications identified as newspapers).

A portion of the questionnaire focused on revenue and asked the participants to indicate the overall percentage of income from various sources. The options listed as possible revenue sources were advertising, tribal subsidies, subscription sales, newsstand sales, and grants and other contributions.

Thirteen of the 21 newspapers surveyed (62%) reported an average of 29% of their revenue from advertising. Eleven of 21 (52%) received an average of 81% of their revenue from tribal subsidies. Of the 21 papers reporting, 14 (66%) received an average of 19% of their revenue from subscriptions. Newsstand sales accounted for an average of 14% of the income in eight of the 21 papers (38%). Grants and other contributions were reported as a source of income by 38% of the newspapers (eight of 21). These papers reported that an average of 45% of their income was from these latter sources.

Given the low return rate, these results must be considered tentative. However several conclusions are worth noting. First, the revenue sources were very diverse. Fifty-two percent received some tribal subsidy but only four of 21 (20%) newspapers relied solely on tribal support.

Second, advertising and grants provide significant amounts of income for about one half of the newspapers. Newsstand sales are not an important source of income for most papers.

Another section of the survey concentrated on equipment and asked participants to list types of equipment used for design and layout. Of the 21 newspapers surveyed, only five (24%) were using photo-typesetting equipment. The remainder (76%) were using desktop publishing equipment. Of those utilizing desktop publishing, 50% were using the Apple Macintosh system, 44% were working with IBM or IBM clones and 6% were using other systems. Over half (52%) of the newspapers reported having darkrooms and darkroom equipment. Of the 21 newspapers surveyed, 11 (52%) were not using color. But 48% (10) were using spot color and of those 10, two (20%) were running process color.

Several of the tentative findings in this category are of interest. Macintosh seems to have found a foothold in the Native press, perhaps due to its visual friendliness. And although the survey didn't ask for specific computer programs, two papers reported using Quark XPress on their Macs for page layout. It was also interesting to see that almost half (48%) of the newspapers were using spot color.

Circulation was also a factor considered in the survey. Of the 21 papers returning the questionnaire, the average circulation was 3,863. Each newspaper had an average of five employees. The frequency of publication varied widely. Three papers reported publishing biweekly, five were weekly, four were bimonthly, eight were monthly and one was quarterly.

The survey also asked participants to list the type of services or activities they thought would be important for a Native Media Center to provide and to indicate program topics that were of interest to them. Of the program topics, 62% listed an interest in design, 57% were equally interested in workshops on photography, reporting and informational graphics, 62% listed grant preparation as a topic they would be interested in learning more about and 48% were interested in programs dealing with technological advances.

Among the types of services and activities that were of interest to the group and that the participants would like to see provided by such a center were workshops and information on internships, Native libraries, news services, Indian-oriented graphics for advertising and fillers, locating other Native American publications, developing media kits, ad sales kits, marketing studies, and an information center for culture, languages and nationwide demographics.

Finally, the participants were asked what they felt was the most important purpose that graphics or visual images served in their publications. Comments were diverse and interesting:

"To communicate something that words can't communicate," "To help deliver the message—makes the reader think the article is important," "To catch the reader's eye, which will lead them to a story," "To get the reader's attention—they can see what's being done, they can see progress being made," "To convey the dynamics of a publication and not just as a cosmetic device," "To help tell the story," "To convey information without words," "reaching out and involving people visually, emphasizing people as the subject of the publication, serving people with little or no ability to read." One participant, in response to the question, answered that visual images are "the character and soul of the Native people."

Comments such as this suggest that the importance of visual communication is recognized by many Native newspaper editors. These newspapers, as indicated by this survey, are already paying attention to the visual aspect of the publications but tools are needed to aid those whose job it is to design and layout Native newspapers.

Cultural Design Standards

How does one design a Native publication that is readable and follows the individual characteristics of any particular tribe's environment? This ongoing research will help us in developing guidelines for the design of Native publications and their use of visual imagery. It will also answer a need for a study that will help define the value of traditional, cultural visual communication and the incorporation of it into the modern media.

There are many elements that may be considered when designing for the Native press. Given the visual orientation of the culture, the most obvious consideration is the use of visual images. But other traditional aspects of design and layout may be analyzed as to how they pertain to

Native culture and traditions. Design principles should be interpreted within the context of the culture. Many of the design prescripts we follow today, when considered in this context, seem to have been born of a Native spiritualism.

Gestalt visual principles: The Gestalt theory of visual perception relates that each element of a visual image may be considered, analyzed and evaluated as a distinct component. However the whole of the visual image is different from, and greater than, the sum of its parts. This is an important design principle and one which mirrors the essence of Native culture and spirituality. The holistic approach of the culture is one that recognizes that no one exists in and of themselves and that "we're all relatives in this dance" (Smoley, 1992).

Explaining Gestalt theory, I often use the example of American Indian star quilts. The Plains Indian tribes substituted these blankets for the buffalo robes that were no longer available. Indian people adapted to the loss of bison as they had to many others, and the geometric designs once painted on buffalo hides were transferred to pieces of cloth. Each of these pieces is a distinct component of the quilt and can be considered, analyzed and evaluated as such. But the power and beauty of the image is only felt when the pieces are composed into a visual whole—the star quilt. And the placement of each piece— the composition— is so exact, so delicate that should one element be removed the design loses its power and its balance. This loss of energy illustrates that the whole is greater than the simple sum of its parts. "The parts 'team up' to create something larger than themselves—a completeness, a meaning. A designer cannot change one part without forcing a reorientation of all the parts and a changed whole or meaning" (Denton, 1992, p.46).

Color: In Native culture all things have a meaning and a purpose. This functionalism is often illustrated in the stories of the tribal elders where color is an important dimension with many cultural associations that should be considered.

Traditionally the Native culture has a great respect for color, often making it the central theme for some of their stories. Color was almost a sacred thing and was often associated with the gods. Because of this, color was included in sacred ceremonies. Sometimes paints of certain hues, and objects painted with designs in particular hues were made sacred and used as offerings or gifts to the gods. Following is a Lakota Sioux story of how the rainbow came to be:

> Long, long ago when the world was young, everything including plants and animals could talk to each other. They could also talk to the gods. People had not yet been created.
>
> After several seasons, all living things were finally getting used to being in the world. Only the flowers were feeling sad after they realized they had to go to sleep or die when the cold of winter covered the land with white snow. Talking among themselves they said such things as: "The pine trees don't lose their needles and they stay green all the time. The brightly colored birds are able to fly south for the winter and keep their feathers. Anpetu (the Day) at least can show his hues twice a day even in winter time. Even the trees with leaves get to enjoy many changes of green from spring to summer. Not only that, but they get one big burst of color in the fall."
>
> Those flowers felt they had been left out of something. They decided to call on Mahpiyato, the One Above. They told Mahpiyato how they felt and he was glad to listen to them. When they were finished talking he said: "My children, you are right. You do much to make the creation beautiful from early spring until fall. Yes, you should have some special reward. I will give each of you a spirit that will live on in the heavens long after you leave the earth. In time all creatures will be able to see you once in a while. They will know I have kept my promise of a reward." So...even now we can see that he kept his promise. At the end of a storm, across the sky, we can see all the spirits and hues of flowers from ages gone by, gathered together in beauty that we call the rainbow.
>
> So it is said.

There are many recorded creation stories which vary from tribe to tribe. Some of the stories were about many colors and some were about just one hue (Amiotte, 1978).

Red is one of the most important hues of the Lakota people. There may be various reasons for this. American Indians were often called red men or redskins by the dominant race. The skin color of Native people is not red, but some of the first Indians seen by EuroAmericans had painted their faces and bodies red. This was done with red earth pigment mixed with animal grease which may have been used not only for ceremonial purposes, but to protect themselves from the rays of the sun during daily outdoor activities. Today the term redskin is considered derogatory and is seldom used—other than in professional sports.

Red is a hue that means life for the Lakota people. This may be the result of various cultural associations. Not only is it the color of blood, but it was also the color of the meat of the buffalo that sustained them and the hue of the choke cherries and other berries that were a staple of their diet.

Red is also the color of a type of stone now called catlinite. The Lakota people made their sacred pipes from this stone. Legend says that the red stone was formed when a flood destroyed the ancestors of the Lakotas. Their flesh and blood was turned into this red stone (Amiotte, 1978).

Colors often symbolized ideas and objects and offerings related to those ideas were used in ceremonies. When a robe was decorated with red it was considered a gift back to the Lakota gods for all the life-giving things received in the past and for all the things the Lakota people would need in the future. Red paint on other offerings also had much the same meaning. Red paint applied to a person during a ceremony was a symbol of accepting the beliefs, customs and traditions of the Lakota people. Generosity has always been an important value of the Lakota way of life. To show this they painted the bottom of their tipi red. This meant any very needy or hungry person could go there and would receive food for the asking (Amiotte, 1978).

Blue is a hue that is often associated with the sacred powers of the sky. This hue was difficult to find in natural pigments such as colored earth or berry juices. There were not very many natural sources of blue, especially on the great plains. Bright blue paint and blue dyes were, therefore, very rare. Blue paint was used sparingly and mostly on sacred items such as drums, medicine objects, ceremonial objects and shields. The wearing, or use of, the color blue today may signify that one is in the process of doing something sacred (Amiotte, 1978).

There are four sacred colors in the Lakota culture. These colors are associated with the four directions. In one of the most influential works on American Indian spirituality—*Black Elk Speaks*—Black Elk describes the four ribbons on his sacred pipe which represent the four directions: "The black one is for the west where the thunder beings live to send us rain: the white one for the north, whence comes the great white cleansing wind: the red one for the east, whence springs the light and where the morning star lives to give men wisdom; the yellow for the south whence come the summer and the power to grow" (Neihardt, 1988, p.2).

Language, culture, and thought are interrelated and changes in culture produce changes in language (Kottak, 1987). Changes in color terms in various Native languages could reflect changes in that particular tribe's society and culture. Just as there are differences between female and male Americans in the color terms they use (Lakoff, 1975), we can look for tribal and intertribal color distinctions. For example, distinctions implied by such terms as *salmon, rust, peach, beige, teal, mauve, cranberry, and dusky orange* aren't in most American men's vocabularies. Many of them, however, weren't in American women's lexicons fifty years ago (Kottak, 1987 p.91).

These lexical changes reflect changes in American economy, society, and culture. Cultural differences and social changes are expressed in changes in vocabulary and in color terminology. A study of Native languages will give us a better understanding of color usage, both traditional and contemporary.

The effective use of color involves understanding it in the cultural context of its environment. Mario Garcia suggests that newspaper color in the 1990s may take on a bolder appearance and urges his readers to be more adventurous in its use (Garcia and Stark, 1991). This advice may serve Native newspapers as well, but with attention paid to the meaning and understanding of color as well as the saturation.

Layout : Layout is a form of expression (Barnhurst, 1991). Here then perhaps is the primary strength of the Native editor. Rather than relying on the 1970s' theory of sectionalizing the news, an editor who understands the Native culture, history and traditions will instinctually lay out the paper following these cultural patterns. The editor, as a part of the community, will know what news goes where. To understand layout and composition in Native publications it's important to consider what may be one of the essential differences between EuroAmerican and Native North American cultures—the difference between the rectangle and the circle. The rectangle is considered one of the most pleasing shapes in Western culture. The "golden rectangle" is the home for not only our printed publications, but for our video display terminals, television monitors and movie screens as well. It is the channel through which we receive most of our information. This is not so in many Native societies where often the identity is with the hoop. An often used symbol of Native spirituality is the circle. There are few straight lines in Native culture and everything in life, according to this philosophy is composed of circles. Dancing is done in a circle and the drums are a circle (Smoley, 1992). The shelters of various tribes were often round in shape and many Plains Indian people lived within the circle of a tepee or earth lodge. EuroAmericans traditionally live within rectangles, which is why, according to one elder of the Devils Lake Sioux Tribe in North Dakota, "it's so easy for the devil to corner them" (Lambert, 1991). The medicine wheel is also a significant, sacred symbol in some Native cultures. This circle is made up of four equal parts and symbolizes the four directions, each direction visualized by one of the four sacred colors. It also symbolizes the four parts of a human being: physical, mental, emotional and spiritual.

This cyclical approach to life may be transferred to the layout of the newspaper. Perhaps, even more so than their EuroAmerican neighbors, Native readers may not approach their newspapers in a front-to-back of the paper fashion. Editors need to reconsider the sectionalizing of the paper. The news should be distributed and organized, not according to story content, but to the interrelationship of each story to the community. If indeed, the best newspapers reflect the communities they serve, the Native theory of interdependency should be considered. An often heard phrase in Indian country is "we are all related" or, in Lakota, "Mitakuye Iyuha" (all my relatives). This philosophy may mean that many seemingly unrelated stories are unified by elements that only those who understand the culture and community will recognize.

Principles of Design: Balance is the key in Native life and the center of North American Indian teaching. To be in harmony, not only with others, but with oneself and with one's environment is desired in Native cultures. This balance is felt in a kinship that comes with a respect for the land and all who occupy it. According to Russel Means, one of the founders of the American Indian Movement, what Whites can learn from Indian culture can be said with one word, "respect." Respect is to the American Indian what love is to Christianity or enlightenment is to Buddhism (Smoley, 1992).

The principle of balance can be seen and felt in the use of the number four. EuroAmericans have long had an attraction to the number three which may have begun with the advent of Christianity. The propensity for the prime number three surfaces in every aspect of our society. Religion: the Trinity, the three wise men, Christ rose from the dead on the third day; Government: local, state and federal; Folklore: Three Blind Mice, Three Little Pigs; Sports: three strikes and you're out; The colors of the American flag: red, white and blue; Our three-point layout system: art, headline and text.

North American Indian culture, however, favors the number four: the four directions, the four sacred colors, the four seasons, a presentation should not begin until four people are present, are a few examples. Parables often utilize the number four as in the following Ojibwa creation story:

> ...While the Moon was with child there was only water covering the earth. The water animals invited her down to rest and the Turtle offered it's shell for her to sit on. The Moon decided to bring earth to the water and sent water animals to the bottom of the water to bring up soil with which she could make the earth. She first sent Beaver who could not find the bottom. Next, Fish was sent but was also unsuccessful. The Loon also went, but could not find soil. The Fourth water animal, Muskrat, said he would go. The others laughed at the idea that this small animal could accomplish what they could not but Moon said he should try. Muskrat came back with a handful of soil from under the water and Moon used this to begin the new world.
>
> So it is said.

Native culture takes its design from nature. Elements are created that are environmentally sound with each part being put to good use, nothing is wasted. The parts of the design are interwoven which only serves to strengthen the whole. "We do not weave the web of life, we are merely strands in it. Whatever we do to the web, we do to ourselves" (Chief Seattle, Dwamish Tribe).

The predisposition of the Native cultures to visual learning, understanding and examination give the Native press an opportunity to be in the vanguard of design that communicates specifically and universally. Rather than following in the path of mainstream newspapers, Native publications should be composed for their own unique communities and the people they serve. "It is not necessary," Sitting Bull said, "that eagles should be crows." This layout can be accomplished by simply relating the precepts of the culture to the design and layout of the publication. It can be accomplished by recognizing that the most effective composition comes from within a culture or community. The Native press could be defined, not only by content or ownership, but by a particular visual attitude that mirrors the culture.

Unfortunately, the contributions of the Native people have rarely been adequately recognized or valued. In addition to their spiritual and environmental policy of respect, many of what we consider to be the staples of life are tied directly to the Indian culture. Half of today's agricultural products were domestic crops cultivated by Indians. America's highways follow Indian trails and high-rise apartment buildings and air-conditioning are designs from the early southwestern nations (Kalar, 1991).

Add to the list of tragic mistakes of the 19th century—forced assimilation, broken treaties—the fact that the Native culture was denigrated and denounced by EuroAmericans. This lack of value for the Native heritage led to the concealment, for over a century, of a culture rich in tradition and meaning. Many visual principles—balance, harmony, unity, gestalt—are all played out in the traditional lifestyle and spirituality of the indigenous people of the Americas. The culture of the Native People has much to teach us about communication and design.

> "So we went to school to copy, to imitate; not to exchange language and ideas, and not to develop the best traits that had come out of uncountable experiences of hundreds and thousands of years living upon this continent. Our annuals, all-happenings of human import, were stored in our song and dance rituals, our history differing in that it was not stored in books, but in the living memory. So, while the white people had much to teach us, we had much to teach them, and what a school could have been established upon that idea!" (Standing Bear, 1933)

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Radio-TV Journalism Division

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN TELEVISION NEWSROOMS

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SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN TELEVISION NEWSROOMS

In the fall of 1991, Americans watched as Anita Hill made sexual harassment charges against a Supreme Court nominee. Eighty-five percent of the public tuned in as the Oklahoma law professor told the Senate Judiciary Committee that she had been harassed by Clarence Thomas when she was Thomas' assistant at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.[1] For the first time, the Thomas nomination seemed to be in real jeopardy.[2]

Despite Hill's testimony, the Senate narrowly confirmed Thomas on October 15. However, the charges led to heightened debate and discussion over sexual harassment in the workplace.[3] Government offices, universities, private businesses and newsrooms began the arduous task of self scrutiny. Were proper policies and guidelines in place to deal with sexual harassment? To what extent was sexual harassment occurring in the work force? How were employees to deal with charges?

This study examines the impact of the Hill-Thomas case on television newsrooms and assesses problems and policies regarding sexual harassment in these work settings where teamwork and collegiality are expected.

The EEOC defines sexual harassment as deliberate or repeated unsolicited verbal comments, gestures or physical contacts of a sexual nature which are unwelcome.[4] It can be verbal, non-verbal or physical.[5] Under EEOC guidelines, there are two basic forms of sexual harassment. The first involves a worker being pressured to have sex. The second involves the creation of a "hostile working environment."[6]

In 1990, the EEOC affirmed that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination and violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act forbids discrimination based on a person's color, race, national origin, religion or sex. Yet, sexual harassment remains a growing concern.

A report on sexual harassment concluded that in 1987, 42 percent of women and 14 percent of men employed by the federal government experienced some form of sexual harassment.[7] In October 1991, the National Association for Female Executives polled its 1,300 members and found that 53 percent said they had been sexually harassed by people who had power over their jobs or careers.[8]

In both the public and private sectors, it is estimated that at least one in 10 and possibly as many as one in two working women experience sexual harassment.[9] Nationwide, an average of 5,423 sexual harassment charges were filed during fiscal years 1987-1990.[10] Since the Hill-Thomas hearings, the number of sexual harassment charges filed with the federal EEOC has increased dramatically.[11] By May 1992, inquiries sent to the EEOC had risen 150 percent. Actual charges filed rose 23 percent.[12] But some experts have predicted mixed reactions from the hearings. While some women will be encouraged to come forward if they have been harassed, others may be discouraged. Some women may believe if a Yale-educated, successful law professor, such as Anita Hill, came under such fire, how would they fare?[13]

"It was only natural that, on the morning after (the hearings), the media would awaken to find their own houses not in order," says attorney Lawrence Levin.[14] Writers need great freedom, independence and an artistic ambiance. In newsrooms where there's traditional "free-wheeling, chaotic creativity," recent headlines over sexual harassment have left managers wondering what exactly sexual harassment is and how to deal with it.[15]

"Awareness" has become the buzzword in newsrooms.[16] Editors around the country agree that managers should not lose their sense of humor and the goal is an open newsroom environment of trust and respect. Managers are expected to establish a work environment where everyone can do her or his best work. Like other businesses, media companies must realize that "hands-on management" means running companies on a cost-effective, proactive basis, and failing to handle sexual harassment claims proactively can lead to big penalties.[17]

A 1988 study of Fortune 500 companies estimated that sexual harassment cost each firm an average of about $6.7 million annually. This figure includes the costs incurred when employees quit their jobs; remain at their jobs but become less productive; take leave of absence; or seek counseling. It doesn't include cost for litigation.[18]

Newsrooms headed by women may operate differently than male supervised newsrooms. Research shows that men and women perceive instances of harassment differently.[19] There is evidence that women are more likely than men to regard sexual innuendos, sexual references, sexual jokes, touching and leering as harassing behaviors.[20] Women also generally perceive a greater prevalence of sexual harassment than men. Men usually see sexual harassment as an issue of sexuality, and women see it as an issue of power.[21] According to Linda Cunningham, executive editor of the Rockford, Ill., Register Star, "This isn't about sex, it's about power."[22] Jennie Farley, an authority on working women, contends that male bosses often just don't grasp the sexual harassment issue. She says men believe they can step out of the boss role and ask a subordinate for a date.[23] Educators Jane Workman and Kim Johnson write, "Men have been socialized to be powerful and sexual, whereas women have been socialized to be compliant or to be the targets of men's sexual advances."[24] A 1987 study, however, indicates sex differences in perceptions of sexual harassment may be overstated.[25]

The overall objectives of the present study were 1) to determine the extent to which the Hill-Thomas hearings raised awareness and changed attitudes on sexual harassment in television newsrooms across the country and 2) to assess sexual harassment policies, procedures and problems in television newsrooms headed by female and male news directors.

The research questions:

1) To what extent did the Hill-Thomas hearings change awareness, attitudes and behavior on sexual harassment in television newsrooms across the country? Have policies and procedures on sexual harassment changed since the hearings?

2) Do policies and procedures for dealing with sexual harassment differ in newsrooms headed by women and men? For example, what steps do male and female news directors say an employee should take if sexually harassed?

3) What has been the nature and resolutions of sexual harassment in television newsrooms? Do these differ by whether the news director is a man or a woman? Most notably, are female news directors more severe than male news directors in dealing with sexual harassment?

4) Finally, since harassment is more often directed at women, have female news directors themselves been sexually harassed more than male news directors?

METHOD

To address these research questions about sexual harassment in television newsrooms, a national survey of TV news directors was conducted by phone. Efforts were made to interview all female news directors and a random sample of male television news directors who were members of the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA). That membership file is the only list that consistently identifies stations' news directors. From that list, 55 female and 69 male news directors were interviewed. Two female news directors and three male news directors declined to take part in the survey. The cooperation rate was 96%.

The RTNDA-member news directors in this study were from somewhat larger markets and larger staffs than those in a survey of the population of TV news directors in 1990.[26]

The share of female news directors in the 50 largest markets was higher (40.0%) than in the 1990 population survey (34.3%). Male news directors were also more likely (42.6%) to be in ADI 1-25 markets here than in the 1990 survey (30.9%). The median staff size for female news directors in RTNDA was 25, compared to 16 in the 1990 population study. Men headed staffs with medians of 34 in the present study and 28 in the 1990 survey. The objective in choosing respondents was not to assess population demographics, but to compare male and female news directors.

The interviews, which were conducted between November 1991 and February 1992, took 5 to 15 minutes in most cases. First, news directors were asked basic demographic information. Then they were questioned on the effects of the Hill-Thomas hearings, the prevalence of sexual harassment in their newsrooms, their policies on the issue, and finally, their own personal involvement with sexual harassment.

RESULTS

The data were analyzed to compare the differences in male and female news directors regarding the extent to which the Hill-Thomas hearings raised awareness and changed attitudes in TV newsrooms across the country; and, to assess sexual harassment policies, procedures and problems in those newsrooms.

Chi square tests were run for all male-female comparisons but reported only when statistically significant at the .10 level.

In nearly all newsrooms surveyed, the Hill-Thomas hearings were said to have enhanced awareness of sexual harassment. Both female (92.7%) and male news directors (92.8%) said the televised hearings heightened awareness of the problem of sexual harassment in their news operations.

In addition to heightening the awareness of the problem of sexual harassment, the Hill-Thomas hearings were also seen as having a chilling effect on potential harassers. Table 1 shows that about half of the female news directors and even more of the male news directors said potential harassers in their newsrooms were "less likely" to harass now than before the hearings. Very few said the hearings made potential harassers more likely to harass.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

A third of both male and female news directors said a staff member would be "more likely" to take action against a harasser now than before the hearings. Only one of 120 respondents said a staff member would be "less likely." The majority of both male and female news directors said an employee who was harassed would most likely take the "same action" as before Hill-Thomas.

What if Judge Thomas had been denied his seat on the U.S. Supreme Court? Would that have sent a different message to potential harassers? A great majority of both male and female news directors said no.

Most of the TV news directors, male and female alike, said their newsrooms had policies to deal with sexual harassment. This helps explain why only 11.3% of the female and 9.2% of the male news directors said they had made changes in their policies or procedures since the hearings. Policies were already in place. As Table 2 details, the policies were usually in writing and were made available to all employees.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

What's the first step an employee should take if harassed? Go to a supervisor. That's the policy in most TV newsrooms whether the news director is male or female. Some prescribe going to an affirmative action officer or someone in the personnel department. Very few said the accuser's first step should be to confront the harasser.

To what extent is sexual harassment a problem in TV newsrooms? A majority of both male and female news directors described sexual harassment as a problem of some kind in their operations. As Table 3 shows, the majority of male and female news directors surveyed said sexual harassment was at least a "minor problem" in their operations. Only one of the 124 news directors, a man, considered it a "major problem." More than a third of both groups said sexual harassment was "no problem" at all in their operations.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

News directors were also asked if there had been cases of someone bringing up a complaint of sexual harassment. Table 3 shows that such complaints had been registered in roughly three of every 10 newsrooms. Most of the news directors who had received complaints reported only one. A few reported between two and four, and data for these were analyzed in terms of the primary complaint in each newsroom. The majority of complaints had come more than a year earlier.

What was the nature of those complaints? Male and female news directors most often said the complaints were verbal. (Table 3) Verbal harassment can include telling sexual jokes or stories or making sexual comments. Complaints less often involved requests for sex or physical harassment.

How were the complaints resolved? As Table 3 also shows, the majority of both male and female news directors either settled the case without penalty or warned the harasser. The accused were seldom suspended or fired from their jobs.

In addressing the research question regarding news directors who had been sexually harassed themselves, results were consistent with data that show women are victims more often than men. As shown in Table 4, nearly half of the female news directors surveyed said they had been sexually harassed in the broadcast news workplace compared to very few of the male news directors.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Of those news directors who reported harassment, the majority, male and female alike, said it was verbal in nature. Very few said the harasser requested sex or physically bothered them.

How did news directors resolve the problem? Of those who told how their cases were resolved, the majority, male and female alike, said they did nothing. Table 4 shows that at least half of the news directors who told how the cases were resolved said the incidents were never reported. Just under a third of the female news directors said their complaints were settled without penalty to the accused. Warnings and firings were rare.

DISCUSSION

The Hill-Thomas hearings had an impact on television newsrooms across the country in a number of ways.

Almost no differences were found between male and female news directors except where news directors themselves had been harassed. Their similarities are consistent with other studies comparing male and female news director management styles.[27]

In this study, both male and female news directors responded similarly on perceptions of the effects of the Hill-Thomas hearings on behavior in TV newsrooms. There are few differences in the way male and female news directors handle policies and procedures regarding sexual harassment; and, newsrooms headed by men and women have similar problems and complaints regarding sexual harassment. However, there is one major difference. Female news directors are more likely than males to have been sexually harassed in the broadcast news workplace.

Initially, awareness of sexual harassment was raised in nearly all television newsrooms surveyed. Something was apparently needed to raise the awareness of sexual harassment. The majority of both female and male news directors consider sexual harassment at least a minor problem in their operations. Substantial numbers of both female and male news directors say there have been complaints of harassment in their newsrooms. The majority have been of verbal harassment.

Furthermore, nearly half of the female news directors surveyed say they have been sexually harassed during their years in the broadcast news workplace. Again, harassment was most often verbal in nature. However, the majority of both female and male news directors surveyed did not even report the incident once it occurred. Basically, they did nothing about it.

But that may have changed since the Hill-Thomas hearings. News directors say the attention given Hill-Thomas had a chilling effect on potential harassers. The majority of male and female news directors alike say sexual harassment is less likely to occur now than before the hearings; and, a third say staff are "more likely" to take action against harassers now than before the hearings. Has this heightened awareness simply brought fear to potential harassers? Or, did the hearings change deep-seated attitudes? Those questions were not addressed in the present study.

While the hearings enhanced awareness, the proceedings by no means brought the topic of sexual harassment into television newsrooms for the first time. Since few changes have been made in policies and procedures since the hearings, it can be inferred that most operations were ready to deal with sexual harassment before the hearings ever took place. Hill-Thomas added an exclamation point!

How far can these findings from television newsrooms be generalized to other settings? Half the women in this survey, like half the women in surveys from elsewhere in the nation's work force, said they had been sexually harassed. An October 1991 study of the National Association for Female Executives found that 53 percent of its members had been sexually harassed.[28] Other studies agree that as many as one in two working women experience sexual harassment.[29] TV newsrooms are thus probably much like many other settings where men and women work together.

If what the survey respondents told us about TV newsrooms indeed reflects other parts of the broader work force, the Hill-Thomas hearings may be sending a widespread message to potential harassers. The message is less often hands-off than words-off. Harassment is most often verbal rather than physical.

The scope of the present study is limited to what news directors could tell us. While they are the best source on problems and policies of their newsroom, they cannot be expected to be aware of unreported cases of sexual harassment in their staff. That question, best addressed by a survey of staff, warrants investigation.

Other questions suggested by this research: Will the heightened awareness of sexual harassment continue? To what extent is sexual harassment occurring in other professions? As more women enter management in television newsrooms, will sexual harassment decrease? What lasting effects will the Hill-Thomas hearings have on the nation's attitudes toward sexual harassment?

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Table 1: Effects of the Hill-Thomas Hearings on Behavior in TV Newsrooms

		NEWS DIRECTORS	
		Female	Male
How likely harassment to occur now?			
	More	8.2%	6.2%
	Less	49.0	61.5
	Same	42.9	32.3
		100.1%	100.0%
N		49	65
How likely is harassed to take action now?			
	More	34.6%	36.9%
	Less	.0	1.5
	Same	65.4	61.5
		100.0%	99.9%
N		55	65
Different effect if Thomas rejected?			
	Yes	22.4%	19.4%
	No	77.6	80.6
		100.0%	100.0%
N		49	62

Table 2: Sexual Harassment Policies and Procedures in TV Newsrooms

	NEWS DIRECTORS	
	Female	Male
Have policy	87.0%	91.2%
In writing	87.2%	90.6%
Given to all	83.7%	96.4%
First step prescribed by policy:		
Go to supervisor	90.9%	82.4%
Go to personnel	3.6	7.4
Confront harasser	1.8	7.4
Other	3.6	2.9
	99.9%	100.1%
N	55	68

Table 3: TV Newsrooms with Sexual Harassment Problems and Complaints

	NEWS DIRECTORS	
	Female	Male
How big a problem:		
No problem	34.6%	48.5%
Minor problem	65.4	50.0
Major problem	.0	1.5
	100.0%	100.0%
N	52	68
Newsrooms with complaints:	33.3%	29.4%
Nature of primary complaints:		
Verbal	16.7%	13.6%
Asking sex	3.7%	3.0%
Physical	7.4%	1.5%
Not ascertained	7.4%	13.6%
Resolution of primary complaints:		
Nothing done	.0%	4.8%
Settled without penalty	29.4	38.0
Warned	41.2	28.6
Suspended	5.9	14.3
Fired	17.6	4.8
Got out	5.9	.0
Not ascertained	.0	9.5
	100.0%	100.0%
N	17	19

Table 4: News Directors Who have been Sexually Harassed in Broadcast News Workplace

		News Director	
		Female	Male
Harassed		49.1%	10.1%
	N	55	69
	x2 = 20.21, df 1, p < .001		
Nature of harassment:			
Verbal		57.4	71.4%
Asking sex		35.7	.0
Physical		7.1	28.6
		100.2%	100.0%
	N	28	7
	x2 = 5.16, df 2, p < .10		
Resolution:			
Harassment not reported		50.0%	75.0%
Settled without penalty		32.1	.0
Warned		7.1	25.0
Fired		10.7	.0
		99.9%	100.0%
	N	28	4

HOW EFFECTIVE ARE CODES OF ETHICS? A LOOK AT THREE NEWSROOMS

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HOW EFFECTIVE ARE CODES OF ETHICS?
A LOOK AT THREE NEWSROOMS

Few changes in journalism ethics have been as dramatic as the proliferation of codes of ethics in newsrooms. The adoption of a code of ethics by the Society of Professional Journalists in 1973 sparked a flurry of code writing in newsrooms around the country.[1] Although skeptics have charged that codes are little more than public-relations tools for publishers, most journalists want to have and use a code. Nearly two-thirds of all the journalists surveyed by Philip Meyer believe a newspaper should have a written code to be consulted when ethical problems arise.[2]

Yet little has been done to assess the role codes of ethics play in shaping journalists' behavior when they are faced with real ethical problems. The research available on the influence of codes of ethics on behavior is often derived from surveys and responses to hypothetical questions. Moreover, the evidence from this research is mixed in answering the question of whether codes are influential factors in the decision-making processes of journalists.

This study explores that question by looking at the role that codes have played in real cases journalists have faced in three separate newsrooms. Three principal findings emerge from this investigation.

1. Written ethical standards were rarely invoked in the resolution of cases, *even when the code was relevant to the case.*

2. Nonetheless, under certain conditions ethical rules, including both written and unwritten guidelines, were still part of the larger ethical culture in the newsroom.

3. In the two newspapers with a visible concern for comprehensive ethical rules, two factors seemed critical: a commitment from newsroom leadership to ethical principles *as institutional standards* and an environment in which ethical issues were regularly discussed.

Literature review

Codes of ethics can serve a variety of functions, from articulating ideals to establishing minimal standards, from providing a stimulus for debate to describing the kind of character journalists should have.[3] But at least one function is that codes should affect journalist's actions. Yet two separate reviews of the research on codes of ethics concluded that "little is known of the relationship between codes of ethics and actual behavior."[4] Researchers frequently ask journalists to respond to hypothetical cases, practices, or ethical principles, but many of these studies are not designed to show what role is played by the code of ethics in these cases.[5]

Two studies have provided some evidence of the possible effect of codes on journalists' behavior. A mail survey of 165 managing editors showed not only that codes were widespread among newspapers, but that editors were active in distributing copies to reporters and disciplining staff members for ethical violations.[6] A second survey of more than 200 editors showed that newspapers with codes of ethics had a stricter view of ethical violations, encountered more ethical violations and suspended or dismissed more employees.[7]

But other studies which have attempted to establish a direct relationship between codes and behavior have found less evidence. The presence or absence of a code of ethics made no difference in the handling of the R. Budd Dwyer suicide in Pennsylvania.[8] Similarly, journalists from two newspapers showed no measurable difference in their responses to hypothetical cases, even though differences in their codes might have lead to different decisions.[9]

Part of the reason for the lack of evidence is that journalists' values come from sources as diverse as family and day-to-day newsroom learning.[10] Moreover, within the newsroom, the role of official policy is often indirect at best. As Breed noted in his classic study of gatekeeping, none of the new reporters were told what policy was or had a policy manual handed to them. They learned by absorbing the culture, through reading the paper and seeing what stories were there and how they were written, through violations in specific cases, by learning about the news executives' interests, ties.[11] Among journalists, attitudes toward codes also vary. Some reject code standards in favor of getting stories by any means.[12] Others trump codes with the higher standard of conscience.[13]

Because the determinants of behavior are complex, one approach to exploring the relationship of codes of ethics to decisions is to examine these cases in the environment in which real cases arise: the newsroom.

The narrow question in this exploration is to examine what role codes of ethics play in these decisions. Beyond that, however, taking the inquiry into the newsroom may help determine what the process of ethical decision-making looks like in real cases with the full complexity of human judgment and institutional pressures bearing down.

Methodology

Letters were sent to 29 daily newspapers, principally in Indiana, to identify editors who would be willing to call when a case involving an ethical issue arose. Nearly all of these papers agreed to participate. In reality, none of these newspapers called when an ethical problem arose.

However, in the process of contacting these newspapers, four editors said they were willing to open their newsrooms to an extended visit. During the summer of 1991, three of these newspapers were visited: *The Indianapolis Star*, the *Owensboro Messenger-Inquirer*, and the *Shelbyville News*. The choice of these three papers was clearly an issue of gaining access, rather than random selection. At the same time, each provided distinct advantages.

The Star is a major metropolitan newspaper. It was also part of the Pritchard and Morgan study which found that the differing codes of ethics at *The Star* and the Indianapolis afternoon paper, *The News*, did not have any effect on their responses to hypothetical cases. This investigation might be able to uncover the reasons behind the ineffectiveness of *The Star's* code in altering behavior.

The *Messenger-Inquirer*, a 33,000-circulation daily, provided a setting where this researcher was employed for nine years. While the personal ties were a risk, intimate knowledge of the recent history of that newspaper in dealing with ethical problems also provided a unique opportunity for insight into the process.

The *Shelbyville News*, a small daily near Indianapolis, was also potentially rich territory for two reasons. As editor Roger Mosher explained, they had faced a series of dramatic cases raising ethical questions in the 10 months since he had come to Shelbyville. Moreover, they were in the process of changing the way ethical problems were handled.[14] The *News* provided an opportunity to see ethical guidelines being shaped, virtually from scratch.

Although some time was spent in each newsroom observing reporters and editors, particularly in meetings, the principal method of gathering information was through interviews.[15] In an initial series of short interviews, editors and reporters were asked to identify recent cases which had raised ethical questions. The cases mentioned most frequently by the newsroom staff were then selected for further investigation. All of the key participants in each of the selected cases were interviewed at greater length, probing for the details of the case, key points of the debate, and the case's resolution.[16]

At the end of each interview, some standardized questions focused on the role of ethical codes, guidelines, ethical principles, and the cases themselves. Copies of stories, memos related to the cases, codes, and relevant sections of policy manuals, were collected. Finally, key editors were interviewed on questions of newspaper policy on ethical cases.

Findings

What emerged from these on-site investigations were three different models of ethical decision-making, each of which provides some insight into the process of making ethical decisions in newsrooms and the role written guidelines play in that process.

The Indianapolis Star represents a newsroom in which the code of ethics, while embedded in the newspaper's policy manual, is effectively non-existent. Nor is this an accident. The prevailing philosophy of *The Star*'s management is that trust needs to be placed in the hands of individual journalists who make the decisions: to reporters in the reporting process and to editors in the editing process. As a result, ethical choice is most often an individual responsibility while ethical discussions among staff are cited as being rare.

In many ways, the direct role of the written standards at the *Messenger-Inquirer* is similar. The written standards , embedded in the newsroom policy manual, are rarely used and largely unread by staff. But the *Messenger-Inquirer* is different than *The Star* in seeing its commitment to ethical standards as an institutional, rather than an individual, responsibility. An ethical culture pervades the newsroom, stimulating vigorous debate on ethical issues among staff members. This culture can be traced in part to the publisher's concern for institutional standards, whether embodied in statements of newsroom philosophy or in the case-based policy manual.

Finally, the *Shelbyville News* represents a similar ethical methodology to the *Messenger-Inquirer*. But the key difference here is that its ethical standards are now being shaped as it shifts from a more authoritarian model of decision-making to a participatory style. The *News* is also developing its standards in two ways: from the top down through codes of ethics and from the bottom up with cases establishing more detailed precedents and policy.

The Indianapolis Star: trusting the journalist

Like virtually all newspapers, *The Indianapolis Star*'s editors have general commitments to accuracy and fairness.[17] Indeed, one of the cases discussed by several staff members was a story on Richard Hatcher and Gary, Ind., that was killed by managing editor Frank Caperton the night before publication. Caperton felt it was not fair to Hatcher's perspective.[18] That broad commitment to accuracy and fairness is viewed as a principal function of the editing process.[19]

Nonetheless, on nearly every case investigated at *The Star*, the major ethical decisions are largely the province of the individual journalist. Although *The Star* has written ethical guidelines in an employee manual, they are sandwiched between provisions on benefits, libel, reporting tips, and writing style.[20] The guidelines on gifts, outside work, conflicts of interest and reporting practices, cover only 33 lines.

In that context, it is not surprising that Pritchard and Morgan found little difference in the responses of journalists from *The Star* and *The News*, even though their codes differed. Most of the journalists interviewed were only vaguely aware that the *Star* had a code of ethics; fewer could cite its content. As Pritchard and Morgan noted, only 17 percent of *The Star's* staff felt the code was important in developing ideas about what was right or wrong.[21] As a result, the code has little practical relevance on what journalists do every day.

Whatever reasons explain this minimal role of the written ethical standards at *The Star*, the philosophy of the current leadership of *The Star*'s newsroom supports it. "I never liked the idea of a code of ethics telling me what was right," Caperton said.[22]

Ethical decisions are made by individual journalists. Although editors can challenge those decisions, in effect raising ethical questions, they rarely did in the cases raised by those who were interviewed. Moreover, the lack of visibility to ethical issues extended to conversations in the newsroom. A nearly identical comment was heard from several staffers: "We never talk about ethics." This individualistic methodology was clear in a number of cases, including a series on medical malpractice.

The case of medical malpractice: naming names

A series of stories on Indiana doctors who were sued repeatedly for medical malpractice[23] won a Pulitzer Prize for *The Indianapolis Star* and reporters Susan Headden and Joe Hallinan. For both reporters, the key ethical issue in the series was the naming of the patients. The investigation began with a commitment to naming everyone involved. It was to be "an on-the-record, naming-names kind of series," according to Hallinan, because details add credibility.[24]

However, a problem arose over the naming of patients with potentially embarrassing problems, such as male impotence and botched breast implants. So, when asked by a lawyer representing two of the women not to identify them (though their names are a part of the public record of the malpractice suits), Hallinan and Headden made a decision not to name these and other people with embarrassing problems.[25] Additional patient names were eventually omitted to improve the "narrative flow."[26] In the end, a series which began with a strong commitment to naming everyone ended with a decision to omit some names for reasons of journalistic style.

However, the key issue here is that at no time did the decision ever appear to get beyond the level of the two reporters. Although the series was scrutinized "word for word" by editors, no one remembers any question being raised about the anonymity of the patients in the series.[27] Nor was the code of ethics mentioned, even though it contains a potentially relevant admonition: "Be diligent in naming news sources."

This level of individual autonomy was evident in other cases. A decision was made by a reporter to include a reference to the homosexuality of a man shot by the police in a profile story. Although a debate did erupt in the newsroom *after* publication, no question was raised about the reference before publication, even though the reporter recognized it as a clear ethical question because the homosexuality of the man had no clear relationship to the shooting.[28]

A photographer covering a fire in which a small boy died as his parents looked on decided not to take pictures of several emotional scenes. Her decision was not questioned.[29] Characteristically, the reporter on the scene argues, "It was her call."[30] Nor does staff photographer Susan Plageman recall any ethical debate "around the light table" in the photo department over the photo she chose to print.[31] And when the photo was brought to the news conference, Caperton said people were even reluctant to voice their opinion about whether to use the photo or not.[32]

In a 1989 investigative series on the Indiana Boys' School, key ethical decisions about the use of anonymous sources were made by the reporters. Each reporter worked out his own standard for granting anonymity. Editors weren't consulted nor did they challenge those decisions, according to Bruce C. Smith, one of three reporters on the series.[33]

That doesn't mean decisions *can't* be, and are not, challenged by editors. Nonetheless, that was not a feature of most of the cases which had the highest visibility as ethical problems among staff members.

Moreover, the code of ethics was not a part of the resolution of cases. Nor was any extended (or even minimal) discussion about the ethical implications a significant part of the decision-making process. In part, this was because the limited code did not have always have a direct relevance to the case. Yet the limited scope of the code is itself evidence of the marginal role it plays in determining ethical behavior.

The effect of such a strategy is to place total dependence on the character of the individual journalists. Indeed, that's Caperton vision of an ethical newsroom: one populated by ethical, virtuous journalists, free to make decisions about what was right in individual cases.[34]

Every newspaper depends on the personal values of journalists, particularly when they are out gathering information. Even as simple an ethical theme as "be accurate" is open to multiple variations.[35] In that context, Caperton is right to stress the importance of character. Many ethical decisions are made in the field, not in the managing editor's office.

Clearly, John Merrill, a leading advocate of journalistic freedom, would be pleased. Merrill sees the ideal of journalism ethics as the individual journalist seeking to act responsibly, but accountable only to himself.[36] In fact, this value did not escape some of the journalists at *The Star*. Headden, one of the two reporters on the medical malpractice series, said she liked the responsibility placed on the individual journalist. Such a system, argued Headden, elevated the status of the journalist beyond that of fact-gatherer and writer.[37] Autonomy implies a level of integrity and editorial control valued by these journalists.

At the same time, such autonomy carries risks. Many newspapers value consistency in ethical standards. At *The Star* the lack of policy -- allowing individual decisions within the broad framework of fairness and accuracy -- means the lack of consistency on practices such as the use of unnamed sources.

Moreover, dependence on character works with journalists who are sensitive to ethical problems. Not all journalists are. As many as 10 percent of the journalists in a recent survey said they never encountered ethical decisions in their work.[38]

Moreover, personalizing these daily ethical decisions robs the process of the alternative perspectives and information others could offer -- as well as the test of reasoned debate.[39] In interview after interview, reporters offered the same observations: debates and discussions on ethical problems are reportedly rare at *The Star*; its standards, expressed in the policy manual, have minimal visibility and little impact .

The Messenger-Inquirer: "We don't eat"

Unlike *The Star*, the *Messenger-Inquirer* had a history of encouraging consistency through written policy, rather than depending on personal decisions. The frequent turnover in managing editors through the 1970's and early 1980's (sometimes at one- or two-year intervals) elevated the need for consistent standards. As one staffer argued, the standards were the newspaper's, not the managing editor's.[40]

The Owensboro paper has a complex history filled with efforts to articulate the values of the institution and its newsroom. Evidence of this can be seen in signs stating the core values of the newspaper posted around the building. A newsroom mission statement and an editorial page philosophy have also been formulated. In fact, a search through newspaper documents uncovered a variety of mission statements written by the publisher, John Hager, at different times in his career.

The newspaper does not have a separate code of ethics for the newsroom. But it does have a detailed policy guideline manual which deals with a large number of ethical issues.[41] These policies are mixed in origin, but many are clearly related to specific incidents (stories) which resulted in policies to guide future action. In most cases, the guideline contains a statement of the new policy and a rationale for the policy. In some cases, the original story which triggered the new policy is attached. For example, a brief story about a law suit against five doctors is photocopied on a guideline which includes the new policy ("When reporting settlement of a case, be sure to consult BOTH attorneys regarding the terms of settlement.") and a two-paragraph rationale for the guideline.[42] Most guidelines were dated; many were signed by John Hager and the chief newsroom executive at the time the guideline was put into effect.

Finally, a 157-page "Newsroom Orientation Handbook" was compiled sometime in the 1980's. It included summaries of key reporting and writing policies, including those dealing with ethical issues.

One cannot look at this array of documentation -- from general statements of corporate values to detailed guidelines -- without sensing the clear intent on the part of Hager to shape future actions in the newsroom.

Nonetheless, at the level of its greatest specificity -- the policy guidelines -- the establishment of standards has proven to be ineffective. The policy manual is a dead document. Only two copies of the manual exist. Most staff members had only a vague idea that such a document was around; one key desk editor had not looked at it in several years.[43]

Despite the general ignorance of the ethics provisions in the policy manual -- a condition not unlike *The Star*, the *Messenger-Inquirer* has been able to sustain a culture in which ethical issues are hotly debated and awareness of newspaper standards, often unwritten, is widespread. The most dominant force in this ethical climate are the unwritten stories and standards kept alive by staffers. In one characteristic exchange, a new reporter was being briefed on coverage of an upcoming Rotary luncheon. After filling him in on the details, the older reporter said, "Oh, by the way, we don't eat."[44] That brief aside had a significant meaning for the new reporter who had come from a newspaper where free meals were commonly accepted in the course of reporting a story. For him, this communicated clearly what the standards of the *Messenger-Inquirer* were, even though that standard was not written down in any code or guideline book.

While the implementation of ethical standards at both *The Star* and the *Messenger-Inquirer* depends on the commitment of individual journalists to ethical standards, the difference is also obvious. At *The Star* these are often viewed as individual ethical values; at the *Messenger-Inquirer*, these are expressed as the shared values of the institution. This was never clearer than in the case of the drunk driver.

Making exceptions: the case of the drunk driver

The *Messenger-Inquirer* is a "newspaper of record" for its circulation area, especially Daviess County. Police activity, court records, births, deaths, marriages and divorces were all published under clearly understood -- and sometimes written -- guidelines.

On Wednesday, March 21, 1990, a lawyer called Tim Harmon, the new managing editor. According to the lawyer, a mistake had been made by the police. His client, George Sterett Miles, had been arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol, but his breathalyzer registered only .04. Would it be possible to delay publication for one day until this is cleared up? In light of the low breathalyzer reading, Harmon thought this a reasonable request and agreed to the delay.[45]

When word of Harmon's decision got to the staff, all hell broke loose in the newsroom. Staffers besieged Harmon's office. Their argument: *No one ever gets special treatment on the records page. No exceptions are made to the reporting policy -- ever.*

Why did the staff argue this way? In reality, Harmon did not violate the letter of the written policy. The policy only requires that no exceptions be made in the *reporting* of police records; it says nothing about when those reports have to be made.[46] Publication after a one-day delay (the charge did appear in Friday's paper[47]) fulfilled the letter of the guidelines.

But Harmon did violate the unwritten policy which had been followed at the Messenger-Inquirer for years. No one -- even staffers who had been at the paper 20 years -- could remember an exception like this being made. (The situation was not helped by news that the lawyer had bragged to some friends how he had gotten the newspaper to delay publication.[48])

The lawyer proved to be right in his assessment of the case's status. The charge was dismissed. But Harmon still had to call a staff meeting to deal with the problem. He told the staff he had been wrong, though in an interview he said the only thing he had done wrong was to miscalculate the importance of the exception to the staff.[49] Months later when staff members were interviewed, this was still an emotional issue with some newsroom staff.

Why was so much significance attached to a simple DUI charge when much more important issues could have been discussed? It was viewed as a violation of one of the core values of the newspaper: fairness -- treating similar cases persons similarly. This was particularly important to the staff as the person charged was a nephew of a wealthy, politically active resident of Daviess County.

This case illustrates several interesting features of the *Messenger-Inquirer*'s newsroom. The concern for maintaining ethical standards such as fairness or consistency is high, despite the disuse into which the policy manual had fallen. Even though a written policy governed the case, it was the unwritten policy and the actual practice in reporting DUI's, not the written policy, which drove the debate. As Philip Meyer notes in his study of newsroom ethics, "unwritten rules can become so deeply embedded in the newsroom culture that they need never be made explicit to be enforced, but can exist simply as a set of reflexes."[50]

In addition to the appeal to unwritten standards in this case, the response of the newsroom staff to an ethical problem is also critical. Editors, reporters and clerks all felt free to challenge the decision of the managing editor -- and did. The protests and discussions of the case were frequent. Although this was an exaggerated case, staff debate on ethical cases is characteristic of the newsroom.

Unlike *The Star*, ethical issues are frequently discussed at the *Messenger-Inquirer*, according to the staff members. Jim Baumgarten, chief photographer, described a series of discussions over the publication of a controversial photo showing a child watching his mother being booked on drug charges in Ohio County. Several rounds of discussions took several hours and involved a wide range of newsroom staff -- at one point anyone in the newsroom who wanted to get involved in the debate -- before a decision was made in which everyone was "comfortable."[51]

This case stands as an interesting contrast to the process used in dealing with the controversial fire photo at *The Star*. As we noted earlier, there was virtually no discussion of the ethical implications of the photo either in the photo department or in the daily budget meeting. While the larger size of the operation at *The Star* may account for some of the difference in approaches, the ethical intensity of debate at the *Messenger-Inquirer* is also the product of a different ethical culture.

One key to understanding the *Messenger-Inquirer* is the way ethical standards are viewed as representing the values of the institution, rather than those of the individual journalist. Harmon's decision, though reasonable to him, was criticized because it violated the institutional standards of the newspaper.

Finally, one cannot escape the impact of the publisher's commitment to ethical standards, as expressed in his past involvement in newsroom decisions, in statements of values posted on walls, in multiple mission statements for the newsroom and in a detailed policy manual for which he was clearly the driving force. Hager's interest in identifying the ethical values of the institution and embedding them in written policies was noted by virtually everyone as one of the critical factors in producing an ethical culture in the newsroom -- even if its actual effects were far different than Hager might have envisioned when he wrote the values statements or pushed for written policy guidelines. Commitment from the top *expressed through written standards* was still a key normative influence on the practice of ethics at the *Messenger-Inquirer*.

The Shelbyville News: Starting from scratch

Prior to 1990, the *Shelbyville News* had one clear ethical policy: When a problem arose, the executive editor decided -- without debate or discussion. Jim McKinney had been in the newsroom of the *News* for 35 years, most recently as executive editor. His style of leadership was autocratic. According to all those who worked under him, decisions that raised some ethical issue were made by McKinney without debate or discussion. McKinney saw himself as "trying to do what was right." Moreover, he believes his decisions were consistent with the ethics guidelines now being developed by the new editor, Roger Mosher.[52] But staff members interpreted these decisions as "arbitrary," made on a case-by-case basis without any clear consistency.[53]

In 1990, Mosher was brought to the *Shelbyville News* as editor. Though McKinney remained as executive editor, Mosher was put in charge of the newsroom. What changed instantly was the style of management. Mosher was more participatory in style, inviting discussion, involving his small staff in decisions. As a result, even though Mosher may make the final call, the staff now feels a part of the process.[54] This is particularly true in cases involving ethical decisions.

The *Shelbyville News* is shaping its ethical policy in two ways. First, Mosher has formulated a code of ethics dealing principally with conflict of interest and free-lancing. Additional policy guidelines are being developed for specific areas, such as copy editing and photography. By drawing on his own experience at the *Ft. Wayne Journal-Gazette* and the codes of other newspapers, such as the *Charlotte Observer*, Mosher has written these codes, then circulated them to the staff and the publisher. The codes are then rewritten and approved by Mosher and publisher John DuPrez.[55]

While these codes are being developed from the top down, another set of guidelines is being written from the bottom up. Cases that raise controversial issues are being used to shape new guidelines for news policy through intensive discussions. In this enterprise, the staff has a clear sense of developing case law or precedents in their decisions.[56] This strategy, similar to the *Messenger-Inquirer*'s policy guidelines but more participatory, can be seen clearly in the case of the cemetery suicide.

The cemetery suicide

On a Sunday evening in late June of 1991, an unidentified man killed himself with a shotgun in the local cemetery. The body was found on Monday morning. The report of the suicide was carried in Monday afternoon's paper, saying that an unidentified person was found dead of a self-inflicted gunshot wound. By Tuesday the *News* had the police report identifying the person, as well as the obituary information from the funeral home. Both came in close to deadline on a heavy news day. McKinney, who was working on the desk, decided not to run the brief identifying the man and giving the cause of death both because of space limitations and because it would have run a few inches away from the obituary. The obituary, according to McKinney, does not include the cause of death because family members clip the obituary for the family record. McKinney did change the obituary, identifying where the body was found so that a reader of Monday's edition could make the connection between Tuesday's obituary and Monday's brief.[57]

Mosher's concern was that readers were not being informed if they didn't read both papers and make the link. As a result, he called a Wednesday meeting with McKinney; Scarlett Syse, the city editor, and the reporter who covered the story.[58] The hour-long discussion began with a review of the details of the case, focusing on the ways it may have been unique. But the discussion gradually shifted from the uniqueness of the case to its similarity to others (suicides, AIDS-related cases). Because of the likelihood that similar circumstances would recur -- even the dilemma of dealing with the police report and the obituary on the same day -- the case was used to explore the existing policy and to see whether it needed to be changed.

In the end, the existing practice (which was violated in this case when the brief was omitted) was reaffirmed: Not including the cause of death in the obituary would be better for the family; but the newspaper was still getting information in the newspaper in a separate brief, even if the brief and the obituary appear side by side.

Despite the lack of significant change, the discussion illustrates the changing nature of the ethical environment in the newsroom. Decisions on cases -- even after the fact -- are open for debate. Staff involvement in these debates is encouraged. The goal of these debates is the establishment of clear precedents and consistent policies.

The reasons for these changes are clear. Mosher's desire for written guidelines provided the immediate impetus for the codification. DuPrez's father, publisher of the *News* for many years, depended on journalists who had been with him a long time to provide a consistent policy.[59] But Mosher didn't want to depend on individual decisions or having the right person in the slot to get a consistent policy. The cemetery suicide is a perfect example. When the case arose, Mosher didn't know what the policy was; a staffer he asked didn't know; and McKinney knew and violated it. There was even disagreement over what the basis for existing policy was.

Conclusion

Exploring the role of codes of ethics in three newsrooms illustrates dramatically how difficult it is to assess the function of codes through surveys or analyses of code content. In each of these newspapers the ethical standards have taken a different form and performed a different role. At *The Star*, the "code" was a handful of standards scattered among other non-ethical policies and employee benefits; its role in resolving cases raising ethical dilemmas was virtually non-existent given the unfamiliarity of staff members with the code, their own sense of the irrelevance of codes, and the managing editor's ambivalence toward the value of codes.

At the *Messenger-Inquirer*, the principal document setting ethical standards was an extensive policy manual, its evolving guidelines shaped by problem cases. Like *The Star*, the actual standards had no demonstrable impact on ethical decisions, though it is likely the guidelines did have an indirect role in the ethical culture of the newsroom.

At the *Shelbyville News*, a extensive formal code was being written and case-based guidelines, like the *Messenger-Inquirer*'s, were being developed. Yet it was too early to see whether these new guidelines would be effective in influencing journalists' behavior. While they seemed like vital precedents now, would they be dead-letter standards in ten years, like the dusty policy manual of the *Messenger-Inquirer*?

The implications of this finding for research on codes of ethics are clear: *While the content of codes is not irrelevant, the value of codes needs to be examined in the context of the newsroom environment.* Only that kind of exploration will uncover the kinds of conditions under which codes might be effective.

This study has identified two factors which seem to be critical in creating an ethical environment in which codes of ethics might play a valuable role. First, *written institutional ethical standards need to be important to the newspaper's management.* Although Caperton clearly saw general ethical standards such as fairness and accuracy as integral to the reporting and editing process at *The Star*, his ambivalence toward codes is unlikely to inspire a major role for written standards. Indeed, the focus on ethical decisions as individual, rather than institutional, produced a newsroom in which "we never talk about ethics."

Conversely, the leadership at both the *Shelbyville News* and the *Messenger-Inquirer* wants written standards as a means of promoting consistency and institutional standards of behavior. That has resulted in a mixture of written standards, including codes of ethics, case-based guidelines, and general statements of values. Despite this diversity of forms -- and even the mediocre (or still untested) record of actual code use, the leadership at both newspapers have, through their codes, made a commitment to an institutional set of ethical standards.

Second, *ethical discussion and debate within the newsroom is critical to bridging the gap between ethical standards and concrete cases.* Both the *Messenger-Inquirer* and the *News* had vigorous debates about ethics, debates which did not replace the need for a code, but which were required to make any standards, written or unwritten, useful. Interestingly, several reporters from *The Star* expressed a desire for more informal discussions of ethics in the newsroom.[60]

This finding seems to be similar to communication research which shows that interpersonal communication is the key bridge mediating social and personal perspectives.[61] In this case, interpersonal communication bridges the generalized guidelines and the specific demands facing a reporter or editor in a specific case.

More speculatively, this might also suggest that there is a limit to the specificity of codes themselves. For example, at the *Messenger-Inquirer*, the policy guidelines were often so specific that they required little or no interpretation. One guideline sets standards for conditions to be met before a story can be done on the sighting of Bigfoot.[62] That level of specificity may not be helpful for journalists who need to respond with creativity and good judgment to complex, unpredictable cases. As a result, such specific guidelines were quickly forgotten.

But the more general the code, the greater the need for interpretation. For that, vigorous discussion may be indispensable. Without it, day-to-day decisions become either the province of autocratic decisions from the top or personal decisions made by reporters at the bottom. As Philip Meyer has argued, discussion helps people see the connection between their values and the decisions they make. At its best, a code of ethics can be an invitation to debate.[63]

If an ideal model emerges, it is one in which a code of ethics identifies basic values and obligations of journalists, rather than narrowly proscribing behavior. Beyond that, informal guidelines or policies, often reached through practical dilemmas raised by cases, can shape these principles to the particular circumstances of cases. Finally, these principles and guidelines must be kept alive through newsroom parables and debates in which new cases challenge existing standards. Without the constant revitalization of debate, few ethical standards can be expected to be effective.

In other words, this may not be a question of which of the three models of newsroom ethics is best. Instead, each performs a different function. Codes emphasize general ethical values, such as privacy, conflict of interest, or fairness. Newsroom parables ("We don't eat.") illustrate the values of the newsroom culture in communicating practical ethical standards. More specific policy guidelines (both written and unwritten) establish case-related practices, such as whether to include the cause of death in obituaries or when to use anonymous sources. These guidelines mediate between abstract principles and concrete cases, providing an equal measure of consistency and flexibility. Finally, individual journalists help decide issues in relation to complex cases they know best, an exercise which depends in part on the moral character of each person engaged in the process.

In light of these findings, perhaps the very question with which we began needs to be changed. We began by asking whether codes of ethics are effective in shaping journalists' behavior. This question can be partially answered in the negative: The presence of a code is unlikely to be valuable in a setting in which no one has a reason to pay attention to its content -- where it is not seen as an expression on important institutional values.

The more critical question is what conditions are necessary for a code (including here both written and unwritten guidelines) to be a factor in newsroom decisions. Here the question can be tentatively answered in the affirmative: Ethical guidelines are likely to be important when newsroom leadership is committed to institutional standards, when newsroom discussions of the ethics of controversial cases are encouraged, and where a culture of ethical sensitivity is fostered.

ENDNOTES

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[7] "Newsroom Ethics: How Tough is Enforcement?" *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, Fall/Winter, 1986-87, pp. 7-16.

[8] Patrick R. Parsons and William E. Smith, "R. Budd Dwyer: A Case Study in Newsroom Decision Making, *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* (3:1, 1988), pp. 84-94.

[9] Pritchard and Morgan, *op. cit.*

[10] A classic study of the American journalist showed multiple sources for journalists' values, including family, teacher, peers and day-to-day newsroom learning. Interestingly, codes were not even listed as a source of ethical values. Weaver and Wilhoit, *op. cit,* p. 135.

[11] Warren Breed, "Social Control in the News Room," *Mass Communications*, 2nd ed., Wilbur Schramm (ed.) (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960), pp. 182-183.

[12] S. Scott Whitlow and G. Norman Van Tubergen, "Patterns of Ethical Decisions Among Investigative Reporters," *Mass Comm Review*, Winter 1978-79, p. 6.

[13] Jay Black, Ralph D. Barney and G. Norman Van Tubergen, "Moral Development and Belief Systems of Journalists," *Mass Comm Review,* Fall 1979, p. 15.

[14] Roger Mosher, telephone interview, May 16, 1992.

[15] The study included five days of interviews at *The Star,* five days at the *Messenger-Inquirer,* and three days at the *News* during the summer of 1991.

[16] A total of 25 people were interviewed at *The Star*; 13 were interviewed at the *Messenger-Inquirer*; and six were interviewed at the *News*.

[17] "The Star's Philosophy," *Star Style Book and Reference Guide,* May 1988.

[18] Joseph Hallinan, interview, July 23, 1991.

[19] Frank Caperton, interview, July 18, 1991.

[20] *Star Style Book and Reference Guide,* pp. 1-13.

[21] Pritchard and Morgan, p. 937.

[22] Caperton, *op. cit.*

[23] Susan Headden and Joseph Hallinan, "A case of neglect: Medical malpractice in Indiana," *The Indianapolis Star*, Sept. 24-26, 1990.

[24] Hallinan, *op. cit.*

[25] Susan Headden, interviews, July 15 and 19, 1991.

[26] *Ibid.*; Hallinan, *op. cit.*

[27] Headden, *op. cit.*; Hallinan, *op. cit.*; Curt Wellman, interview, July 18, 1991.

[28] Kevin Morgan, interview, July 17, 1991.

[29] Susan Plageman, interview, July 18, 1991.

[30] Hallinan, *op. cit.*

[31] Plageman, *op. cit.*

[32] Caperton, *op. cit.*

[33] Bruce C. Smith, interview, July 17, 1991.

[34] Caperton, *op. cit.*

[35] Braman's study of complaints before the National News Council showed that of 25 different standards of accuracy applied by complainants, only 9 were actually included in the code of ethics. Braman, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[36] Although Merrill has modified his position in recent years to place more emphasis on social responsibility, the self-determination of that responsibility is still critical in Merrill's view. See John Merrill, *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (New York: Freedom House, 1990), p. 203; and John Merrill, *The Dialectic of Journalism: Toward a Responsible Use of Press Freedom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana, 1989), pp. 36-38.

[37] Headden, *op. cit.*

[38] Mills, p. 590.

[39] Johannesen argues that this argumentative function of codes is critical to its effectiveness. Johannesen, p. 62.

[40] Lora Wimsatt, interview, June 4, 1991.

[41] "Messenger-Inquirer Policy and Guidelines," March 3, 1981.

[42] "Civil Court Reporting," from "Messenger-Inquirer Policy and Guidelines," section 2-8-3.

[43] Tommy Newton, interview, June 5, 1991.

[44] Paul Raupp, interview, June 4, 1991.

[45] Tim Harmon, interview, June 5, 1991. This account has been supplemented with interviews from other participants. Steve Hunt, interview, June 3, 1991; Ben Sheroan, interview, June 4, 1991; Susan Bartholeme, telephone interview, May 15, 1991; John Hager, interview, June 5, 1991.

[46] "Newsroom Orientation Handbook," p. 8.

[47] "Police reports," *Messenger-Inquirer,* March 23, 1990, p. 3C.

[48] Sheroan, *op. cit.*

[49] Harmon, *op.cit.*

[50] Philip Meyer, *Ethical Journalism: A Guide for Students, Practitioners, and Consumers* (New York: Longman, 1987), pp. 24-25.

[51] James Baumgarten, interview, June 6, 1991.

[52] James McKinney, interview, June 21, 1991.

[53] Scarlett Syse, interview, June 21, 1991; Kevin Maroney, interview, June 20, 1991.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Mosher, *op. cit.*

[56] Maroney, *op. cit.*; Syse, *op.cit.*

[57] McKinney, *op. cit.*

[58] The account of this meeting is the result of direct observation by this researcher on Wednesday, June 26, 1991.

[59] John DuPrez, interview, June 26, 1991.

[60] Headden, *op. cit.*; George Stuteville, interview, July 16, 1991.

[61] David Weaver, Jian-Hua Zhu, and Lars Willnat, "Information Sources and Agenda-setting: Testing a Theory of Bridging," Bloomington, Ind., 1991.

[62] "Reporting 'Big Foot' or Horror Stories," in "Messenger-Inquirer Policy and Guidelines," section 2-5-3.

[63] Philip Meyer, *Ethical Journalism*, pp. viii and 23.

THEORETICAL RATIONALE FOR THE USE OF NOVELS AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

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"Only a novel"... in short, only some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humor are conveyed to the world in the best chosen language. -- Jane Austen, Northanger Abbey, 1818.

INTRODUCTION:

An understanding of the theoretical dimensions of communication history is often fraught with fundamental problems regarding the conceptualization of history. The majority of mass communication historians view theory as a separate entity apart from history itself, rather than as an integral part of the historical process. However, the synthesis of theory and history is not an additive process, where a measure of theory is added to traditional historical evidence to create a more meaningful seamless narrative. Theory, instead, should be understood as the systematic explanations of culturally determined social practices within a continuous historical process (Williams 1983a, 317).

Traditional communication history generally involves empirically based, chronological explanations of events, crises, ruptures, and catastrophes which researchers explain as aberrations from the norm of continuity. This type of history tends to reflect social-scientific thinking, technocratic ideals, and a professional preoccupation with facts. It emphasizes the quantity of material gathered rather than the quality, and focuses on names, dates, places, and events rather than on meaning and understanding. Historical events are often presented in a decontextualized, a-theoretical, and a-historical manner.

Fredric Jameson refers to this type of history as "pseudo history," and explains that it is characterized as an "obsession with historical rise and decline, the never-ending search for the date of the fall and the name of the serpent" (1971, 324).

Although there are variations within traditional communication history (progressive history, cultural history, institutional history, etc.) and alternatives within its liberal-pluralist critique, ultimately few useful or meaningful distinctions exist within these interpretations. As Hanno Hardt explains, all maintain an underlying belief in progress, assume the existence of a free media system within democratic society, and focus on periodization driven by technology (1990, 349-350). The majority of mass communication scholars base their research on a liberal ideology which focuses on individualistic theories of human beings and society, and does not address questions of ideology, power, and domination.

In order to present a real alternative to traditional communication history, researchers should address basic concepts and assumptions within the dominant ideology of liberal pluralism. Initially, it is necessary to reconceptualize the notion of history as a living dialectical process of continuity and discontinuity, of evolution and of revolution. History is not only catastrophe, crisis, and rupture, not only domination and oppression, it is also opposition, challenge, and regeneration (Williams 1989c, 321-2). Rather than confining history to an illusionary search for evidence of continuity and permanence, history should be seen as indications of challenge and struggle; instead of stressing linear notions of progress, researchers should understand the contradictory character of progress. As Joseph McKerns suggests, it is necessary to replace the progressive paradigm of good vs. evil, freedom vs. repression with the dialectic of good and evil, of freedom, and repression. "Journalism history is not linear, it is convoluted" (1977, 91).

This paper offers researchers an alternative theoretical framework based on cultural materialism, Raymond Williams' theory of the "specificities of material cultural and literary production within historical materialism," (Williams 1977/1988, 5) which encourages the use of novels and other nontraditional sources as historical evidence to provide a more fundamental understanding of the complex historical process.

LIVED EXPERIENCE:

Cultural materialism combines an emphasis on creative and historical agency which privileges experience as a fundamental component of any cultural analysis. It is in experience, "the domain of the lived," where consciousness and conditions intersect, that all practices are shaped and a cultural totality is created within the historical process (Hall 1989, 26). Individuals are considered active agents who help create their own culture through individual experience. It is this centrality of culture, in each study of society, which is the common theoretical thread found in all of Williams' writings. Culture, as a way of life, is viewed as a "constitutive social process" rather than a conclusion (Williams 1977/1988, 19); nothing is static, fixed or predetermined because all of life is an active and evolving process. Culture is the whole way of life, the lived texture of any social order. Every society is somewhat different, it acquires its own meanings and intentions, and expresses these attributes in institutions, the arts, and learning. Society is created from "the finding of common meanings and directions, and its growth is an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land" (1958b, 75).

Williams takes issue with traditional "teashop" arguments that define culture as the visible sign of a special type of cultivated people. Instead, he considers culture ordinary because it is found "in every society and in every mind" (1958b, 76). Culture encompasses common meanings, both known interpretations and new observations; it is the product of an entire society, and is also created and continually remade by its individual members. Culture is more than "a body of intellectual and imaginative work" of a particular group or class; it is fundamentally a whole way of life which is always more than the production of a single class (1958a, 325).

Although the concept of culture describes a common inquiry, Williams explains that conclusions will be diverse due to the variety of starting points (295). Finding potential value in all cultural products, he rejects the argument that "bad culture," writing and opinion of low quality, drives out that which is good, and suggests that although there are large quantities of mediocre cultural products, increasingly greater amounts of good literature, music and art abound (1958b, 86).

Yet Williams suggests that any investigation of culture must begin with language which "is always implicitly or explicitly a definition of human beings in the world" (1977/1988, 21). He rejects the synchronic stress of the structuralist model that views language as the creation of arbitrary signs reproduced within groups; instead, he views language as conventional, a dynamic and continuous social process, and a necessary part of human self-creation. He suggests language is a socially shared, reciprocal activity, a distinctively human opening of and to the world. Terry Eagleton explains that for Williams "language and communication were where we lived, not just what we used to live" (1989, 9). Ongoing relations occur within a historical context, where active problems of meaning are embedded in actual relationships and

> signs take on the changeable and often reversed social relations of a given society, so that what enters into them is the contradictory and conflict-ridden social history of the people who speak the language, including all the variations between signs at any given time (Williams 1981, 176).

Language is an element of material social practice; yet it is not a pure medium through which reality can flow. Williams echoes both Mikhail Bakhtin and Antonio Gramsci in his fashioning of language as part of the dialectical process as "a persistent kind of creation and re-creation: a dynamic presence and a constant regenerative process" (1977/1988, 31). Williams suggests that underlying differences in word usage and understanding are often conflicts of power, class, and group experience. It is through the practical material activity of signification, the social creation of meanings, by the use of formal signs, that individuals actually create their own reality (38). This is not simply a reflection or expression of material reality, but is, instead, a grasping of reality through language, saturated by all social activity.

The belief that each person literally creates his or her own world, is fundamental to Williams' theoretical perspective. Reality, as individuals experience it, "is in this sense a human creation," and therefore all experience becomes a "human version of the world we inhabit." Individuals cannot find reality merely by opening their eyes; they must learn to see the world and to create their own sense of reality. Sensory information received by the brain must be interpreted, following specific human "rules of seeing" before it can be understood. These rules are learned through "inheritance and culture," are culture specific, and serve as the foundation of each society's "ordinary reality" (1961, 18).

"Rules of seeing" are not fixed entities, they are, instead, a changing, evolving process. Individuals modify and extend cultural rules, which in turn creates a different sense of reality. This view of reality does not, however, fall into the post-modern abyss where no reality can be found apart from individual creation. Williams refutes linguistic theory's questioning of "the very possibility of an 'external' referent," and suggests that the formalist position, which insists that there is no signified without a signifier, is merely another way of saying "that it is only in articulation that we live at all" (1981, 167). Instead, he maintains, what he calls the founding presumption of materialism, that the natural world exists whether we signify it or not. Technological forms are seen to exist apart from an individual's creation of them, but differing realities are created as these forms are interpreted in varied ways according to culture specific rules.

Williams suggests that his position differs radically from the majority of individuals (scholars and the general public alike), who assume that reality is "an ordinary everyday kind of perception," where the products of these perceptions exist as "things in themselves as they really are." For most, reality is thought to exist in the form of concrete entities, which are knowable and can be shared with other individuals (1961, 16). As he explains, many people tend to assume "that there is, first, reality, and then, second, communication about it" (1962/1969, 19). Yet, for Williams, the process of perception, where people learn to see things by learning to describe them, is "neither arbitrary nor abstract," but is instead "a central and necessary vital function" through which individuals attempt to understand and live within the environment (1961, 23). This function relates seeing to communication in a fundamental way, where communication begins in the attempt to learn to describe:

> the struggle to learn, to describe, to understand, to educate, is a central and necessary part of our humanity. This struggle is not begun, at second hand, after reality has occurred. It is, in itself, a major way in which reality is continually formed and changed. What we call society is not only a network of political and economic arrangements, but also a process of learning and communication (1962/1969, 19).

Communication, the "process of transmission and reception," through which "ideas, information, and attitudes are transmitted and received," is, for Williams, an essential element in any cultural analysis (1962/1969, 17). Ideas are transmitted through language, in the form of certain communication rules, models, and conventions. Communication is also a practice, and as a practice it is an integral part of culture which must be addressed in any consideration of society. He explains that any theory of communication is really a theory of community -- the process of sharing common meanings, activities, experiences, and purposes (1958b, 313); he urges the analysis of society as a "form of communication through which experience is described, shared, modified, and preserved" (1962/1969, 18).

To understand the materiality of language, it is necessary to differentiate spoken words from written notations, a distinction which relates to the development of the means of production. "Spoken words are a process of human activity using only immediate, constitutive, physical resources." In contrast, all written words, although they maintain a relationship to speech, are a form of material production which adapts "non-human resources to a human end." Although the means of production and intentions may vary, "the central characteristic of writing is the production of material notations" (1977/88, 169). It is the process of creation, the act of composition and communication itself, that is considered significant; the signifier/signified relationship is seen as the result of specific social processes, products of people who develop each language. Rather than focusing on formal differences between types of writing, Williams emphasizes the material and historical conditions of their production. From this materialist perspective, the distinctions of writing forms are blurred; no type of writing is judged as necessarily superior to any other, and all kinds of writing are thought to produce meaning and value.

All written notations are cultural practices, part of an ongoing social process, produced by a specific society, in a particular historical time, under specific political and economic conditions. Williams finds it essential to break down the dualism between the literary and the non-literary, the imaginative and the factual modes of writing; he maintains that the crucial relationship is between the individual piece of writing and its conditions of production. He does, however, accept that there are differences between modes of composition; some scientific work may be fully accountable in terms of its conditions of production while the conditions of production of some poems are not fully recoverable (1981, 328-9).

This approach, therefore, does not privilege any type of writing over another; meaning is found in all cultural products. For example, Williams suggests the writings of Sigmund Freud should not be read as a body of scientific evidence, but instead as novels, much like one might read Strindberg or Proust, contemporaries of Freud whose work articulates another type of experience. He rejects granting any prior validity to scientific works because they are based on clinical experience, "simply because between the clinical experience and the text there is the process of composition" (1981, 332).

WRITING SOCIALLY DETERMINED:

Cultural materialism considers all writing socially determined; it is an aligned process of composition, the interaction between the process of writing, and the conditions of its production. Rejecting the naive bourgeois conception of the writer as a neutral agent, "free of ideology," who chooses to acquire particular positions, values, and commitments, Williams maintains that no writer, in the absolute sense, is ever free (1990b, 258-9). Before any possibility of choice exists, each person is shaped by a native language. Born into a language shared with others, each person writes from inherited forms, commissioned by dominant institutions, based on pressures to think, feel, and write a particular way. He suggests that

> Marxism, more clearly than any other kind of thinking, has shown us that we are in fact aligned long before we realize that we are aligned. For we are born into a social situation, into social relationships, into a family, all of which have formed what we can later abstract as ourselves as individuals. Much of this formation occurs before we can be conscious of any individuality. Indeed the consciousness of individuality is often the consciousness of all those elements of our formation, yet this can never be complete. The alignments are so deep. They are our normal ways of living in the world, our normal ways of seeing the world (1989c, 5).

Although people may come to realize that others, born into diverse social relationships, live and see the world differently, on a more fundamental level individuals are unable to separate their own actual alignment from their own individuality. The process of alignment also extends to the actual available forms of writing. Writers who observe their own writing process realize that while they are actually making the written notations, what is being written also involves the usage of available literary forms (86). This position contrasts with what Williams calls "the essential delusion of empiricism" where no judgment is thought to mean anything unless it is a first-hand disinterested encounter of a "naked reader with the naked page." Williams is quick to point out that there is no naked reader or observer, and that texts always have conditions and contexts based on historically determined cultural conventions, forms, and perceptions (1989a, 165-6). As Jameson explains,

> we never really confront a text immediately, in all its freshness as a thing-in-itself. Rather, texts come before us as the always-already-read; we apprehend them through sedimented layers of previous interpretations, or -- if the text is brand new -- through the sedimented reading habits and categories developed by those inherited interpretive traditions (1981, 9).

The process of understanding is not so much the interpretation of content as the revealing of it; the restoration of a text's original message from many different types of censorship. In contemporary capitalist society, works of culture come as signs in an "all but forgotten code" which needs commentary and interpretation (Jameson 1971, 146).

It is an assumption of empiricism, however, that facts can somehow be made to stand still so researchers can address them as disinterested observers;

it is the ideology of objectivity that sees an other's agenda, but never one's own (Williams 1989c, 165-6). The ideology of objectivity poses, perhaps, the greatest difficulties for traditional communication history. The misguided belief that a historian can be impartial, and can separate theory or ideology from history in order to gather all relevant evidence available prior to making any judgments or interpretations, remains as the dominant view among traditional journalism historians throughout the United States.

Williams, who considers all forms of writing creative, sees a complete continuum of creative communication practices. However, he finds it "reactionary and exclusivist" to elevate some of these practices to literature while devaluing others (1981, 325). Rather than seeing literature as a privileged category of written expression, he views it as "the process and the result of formal composition within the social and formal properties of a language" (1977/88, 46). Literature is not an object for consumption but rather a cultural practice which must be analyzed within historically specific conditions of production.

Although literature was once defined as reading ability and experience by the nineteenth century, amid the social, economic, and political conditions of industrial capitalism, the term's meaning shifted and literature began to represent a particular quality of printed works (1983a, 186). With this new meaning came three complicating tendencies:

> first, a shift from 'learning' to 'taste' or 'sensibility' as a criterion defining literary quality; second, an increasing specialization of literature to 'creative' or 'imaginative' works; third, a development of the concept of 'tradition' within national terms, resulting in the more effective definition of 'a national literature' (1977/88, 48).

By the end of the nineteenth century literature became sharply distinguished from "factual" writing representing only "imaginative writing of novels and poems." This new sense of literature, became still more specialized when "the category of 'Literature' censored itself" in its creation of a literary canon that excluded the majority of novels, poems, and plays (1983b, 194). Cultural materialism rejects the aesthetic as a meaningful category of analysis along with what it considers the exclusionary literary canon. Instead, it conceives of literature, in a larger historical sense, to include canonical texts, along with all other forms of signification within their means and conditions of production.

BASE/SUPERSTRUCTURE AS A SOCIAL PROCESS:

In order to fully apprehend cultural materialism, particularly its position on literature and ideology, it is necessary to understand how this cultural theory differs from an orthodox Marxist approach. Stuart Hall suggests that Williams frequently "carries on a submerged, almost 'silent' dialogue with alternative positions," through which he constructs an argument against vulgar materialism and economic determinism (Hall 1989, 22). He emphasizes that until it is understood that all cultural practices must be seen as forms of material production, it is impossible to consider them "in their real social relations" (1981, 353).

Although Williams works "with a concept of social totality in process," (Garnham 1988, 124) that is quite specific and directed at the analysis of capitalist development as a historical process involving unequal relations of power, he entirely rejects the traditional Marxist base/superstructure metaphor and its primacy of productive forces. Questioning the validity of the base (infrastructure) in determining the political and ideological elements of the superstructure, he sees the base and superstructure, not as fixed separate properties, but instead as a social process which connects "material production, political and cultural institutions and activity, and consciousness" (Williams 1977/1988, 80). He explains that when viewing the base and superstructure as analytic categories they become

> substantive descriptions, which take habitual priority over the whole social process to which, as analytic categories, they are attempting to speak. Orthodox analysts began to think of 'the base' and 'the superstructure' as if they were separable concrete entities. In doing so they lost sight of the very processes -- not abstract relations but constitutive processes -- which should have been the special function of historical materialism to emphasize (80-81).

Therefore, the traditional base/superstructure configuration alienates an entire body of activities to the realm of art and ideas, and rather than viewing them as real practices, relegates to aesthetics, ideology, and the superstructure, elements of a whole material social process. For Williams, the study of specific real processes, activities of people in real social economic relations with contradictions and variations, cannot be reduced to a fixed economic, or technological abstraction of productive forces (1973, 5).

The concept of ideology, important to the majority of contemporary cultural positions, especially those that address literature and ideas, is, however, problematic for Williams because Marxist writings commonly use a combination of three different versions of the term; ideology is used to represent:

> (i) a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group;
> (ii) a system of illusory beliefs -- false ideas or false consciousness -- which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge;

> (iii) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas (Williams 1977/1988, 54).

Rather than trying to make ideology do yet another thing, Williams searches to find a concept which includes art and literature, elements of the general processes of culture and language, in ways that are not reductive, abstracted, or assimilated (71). He restructures Gramsci's concept of hegemony -- the domination of a ruling class through ideology, through the shaping of popular consent -- to include "not only the articulate upper level of ideology" but to incorporate "a whole body of practices and expectations" which "constitutes a sense of reality for most people in society" (1973, 9).

The concept of hegemony goes beyond ideology in its recognition of the "wholeness" of the entire social process. "What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values" (1977/1988, 109). Williams suggests that ideology, in its most common usages, represents a formal system of meanings, beliefs, and values that represent a type of world view or outlook. In this sense, a system of ideas can be abstracted from the living social process and, as in the case of the Althusserians, represented as imposed invariant structures. When ideology is used in this manner "the relatively mixed, confused, incomplete, or inarticulate consciousness" of actual individuals in specific social and historical periods tends to be overlooked in favor of a more generalized system. From this perspective, each ruling class possesses a world view or ideology, which it imposes on the subordinated classes, who, without their own ideological consciousness, must struggle to develop against this dominant ideology.

In contrast, the concept of hegemony refuses to equate consciousness with a formalized system that can be abstracted as ideology.

> It of course does not exclude the articulate and formal meanings, values and beliefs which a dominant class develops and propagates. But it does not equate these with consciousness, or rather it does not reduce consciousness to them. Instead it sees the relations of domination and subordination, in their forms as practical consciousness, as in effect a saturation of the whole process of living -- not only of political and economic activity, nor only of manifest social relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political, and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense (109-10).

Hegemony is not a singular, static concept, but rather an active dynamic process that extends beyond culture and ideology in its "insistence on relating the 'whole social process' to specific distributions of power and influence" (108). As Todd Gitlin suggests, hegemony unites the persuasion from above with the consent of those individuals below as it operates through "a complex web of social activities and institutional procedures. Hegemony is done by the dominant and collaborated in by the dominated." It enters all facets of daily life, it frames work, leisure time, and interpersonal relationships; it impacts creative energies, thoughts, beliefs, and desires. "In every sphere of social activity, it meshes with the 'common sense' through which people make the world seem intelligible; it tries to become that common sense" (1980, 10).

For T. Jackson Lears, in contemporary capitalist societies the "schools and mass media, implicitly denying class or group conflict, have presented a picture of competitive strivers within a benevolent nation-state" which perpetuates values that do not help workers to understand the world as they experience it. Within these modern industrial societies, "the hegemonic culture depends not on the brainwashing of 'the masses' but on the tendency of public discourse to make some forms of experience readily available to consciousness while ignoring or suppressing others" (1985, 577).

Williams suggests that hegemonic forces deeply saturate the consciousness of society, as a highly complex combination of internal structures which must be continually renewed, recreated, and defended. These structures are continually challenged and somewhat modified by emergent oppositional forces (1973, 8-9). Any hegemonic process must constantly be aware of alternatives and opposition that questions or threatens its dominance. As he explains, "the reality of any hegemony, in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive" (1977/1988, 113).

Oppositional and alternative conditions emerge within the cultural process from residual and emergent elements that reside along with the dominant positions. Residual positions are effectively formed in the past, yet are active in cultural processes of the present, and are incorporated through "reinterpretation, dilution, projection, discriminating inclusion and exclusion" (123). Emergent positions offer new meanings, values, practices, and relationships that are continually created. Yet sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between new elements of the dominant culture, and alternative or oppositional elements within a society, because often when an alternative is seen as oppositional, it is then converted and appropriated by the dominant culture. To understand the dominant character, it is necessary to remember "that no mode of production, and therefore no dominant social order of society, and therefore no dominant culture, in reality exhausts all human practice, human energy, human intention" (1973, 12).

The understanding of domination and subordination as elements of a hegemonic process, is, for Williams, more closely aligned with the social processes of contemporary capitalist societies than older interpretations of domination and its "trivializing" explanations of simple betrayal, corruption, and manipulation. And perhaps more relevant to those undertaking a cultural analysis, hegemony offers a different way of seeing cultural activity, as both a tradition and a practice. Culture is no longer relegated to the superstructure, (as in traditional Marxist approaches) and viewed as "reflections, mediations, or typifications of a formed social and economic structure" but instead is seen as lived experience, one of the basic processes of a society itself (1977/1988, 111).

STRUCTURE OF FEELING:

In an effort to distinguish practical, evolving, lived experiences, within the hegemonic process, from the more formal fixed concepts of ideology or world-view, Williams creates the concept structure of feeling. Structure of feeling represents a more nuanced interaction between "formally held and systematic beliefs" and the actively lived and felt meanings, values, and experiences. It describes:

> characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity (132).

In once sense, it represents the culture of a period, the actual "living result" of a particular class or society, which corresponds to the dominant social character; however, it also represents expressions of interactions between other non-dominant groups (1961, 63). It incorporates "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" as they interact with and react against selected formal beliefs (1977/1988, 132). To grasp a structure of feeling one must go "beyond the indiscriminate flux of experiences that are contemporary with one." Yet it is important to understand that each structure of feeling is "distinct from the official or received thought of a time, which always succeeds it" (1981, 163). When a group's structure of feeling can no longer be addressed by its members, for Williams, that culture's structure of feeling can most usefully be approximated from its "documentary culture," all types of recorded culture from "poems to buildings and dress-fashions" (1961, 49).

First formulated "as an analytic procedure for actual written works, with a very strong stress on their forms and conventions," (1981, 159) Williams uses structure of feeling as a method of analysis to articulate "the meanings and values which are lived in works and relationships -- and clarify the processes of historical development through which these structures form and change" (1961, 293). It is specifically in the forms and conventions of literature and art, elements of a material social process, that, for Williams, evidence of the dominant as well as any emergent structure of feeling can most readily be found.

Some contemporary researchers consider the concept "a contradictory and ad hoc formulation" (O'Connor 1989a, 408) and suggest that while structure of feeling represents an important aspect of Williams earlier work, it is replaced by the notion of hegemony in his work after the mid 1970s (O'Connor 1989b, 114). However, it is the contention of this paper, that structure of feeling is not merely an interim concept which Williams replaced with hegemony, when his work became more openly Marxist, but is rather a fundamental component of his concept of cultural materialism that he utilizes throughout his career.

Recognizing the difficulties inherent in naming his concept structure of feeling, Williams searches for term that describes the ongoing comparison that occurs "in the process of consciousness between the articulated and the lived;" finding no superior term, he stays with structure of feeling to represent "that which is not fully articulated or not fully comfortable in various silences, although it is usually not very silent" (1981, 168).

Methodologically, structure of feeling provides a cultural hypothesis which attempts to understand particular material elements of a specific generation, at a distinct historical time, within a complex hegemonic process. *People of the Black Mountains* offers an example of how structures of feeling carried in literature, that convey the dominant and emergent ideologies of specific periods, are transformed by the imagination, and provide a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the overall structure of society and of particular historical events. Williams' final text blends fictional with theoretical interests and offers readers a unique gaze into ways structures of feeling serve as an integral part of a cultural analysis.

It is the imagination that is thought to transform specific ideologies and produce an understanding which can be more "real" than ordinarily observable. Williams, dismisses the belief that literary characters "simply materialize, in a creative alchemy," along with the position that a "writer reads the real structure of the society and then sets figures to it: types who are then personalized." Instead of viewing the imagination in the future inventive sense, he sees the creative process utilizes a structure of feeling, that is strongly felt from the beginning and is similar to the way actual relationships are felt. It is also a specific response to a particular social order, that is integrated without separating it from the larger social experience (1983b, 264). He explains:

> this process is not distillation or novel association; it is a formation, an active formation, that you feel your way into, feel informing you, so that in general and in detail it is not very like the usual idea of imagination -- 'imagine of...', 'imagine that...' -- but seems more like a kind of recognition, a connection with something fully knowable but not yet known (1983b, 264-5).

This sense of the imagination allows a synthesis between the personal and the social which creates and judges a whole way of life in terms of individual qualities. For example, in his work on the English novel, Williams finds that in novels a sense of the community identity in knowable relationships is more deeply understood than in any other recorded experience. For him, the history of these people, available from traditional historical sources, is "decidedly, demonstrably, inadequate" without the connecting meanings that emerge from novels.

It is not that society itself produces novels, but rather that "while society is lived, while it is being lived, the novel, these novels, are in the nerves, the bloodstream, the living fibres of its experience" (1970/1987, 191-192). In novels it is possible to speak of a unique life, in a specific place and time, that exists as both individual and common experience. While the majority of experience directly represents and reflects the dominant ideology, there is an area of social experience, often neglected, ignored, or repressed, which is resistant to the official consciousness. It is in this area of lived experience, from its structure of feelings, that art and literature is made (192).

CONCLUSION:

Williams, who supports the resumption of a realist project, suggests that novels actively shape experience and illuminate the connections between individuals and the political, social, and economic structures of history. Realism, in this sense, is a particular perception and awareness of interrelationships. Although on one level his position resonates with Georg Lukács' discussion of the novel and its "fidelity in the reproduction of the material foundations of the life of a given period, its manners and the feelings and thoughts," (1983, 167) Williams rejects Lukács' notion of a pre-existent social reality to which a literary model might be compared. He also dismisses Lukács' "historically reactionary" understanding of realism, explaining that realism is not limited to a "certain mode of composition," nor does it posit any particular relations to a pre-existing reality (Williams 1981, 350).

His understanding of realism is perhaps more closely aligned with Brecht's interpretation of realism as a political and philosophical issue. For Brecht, who suggests that "one can arouse a sense of outrage at inhuman conditions by many methods," realism is not simply a question of form. It must derive from every means available to depict reality in a form that people can understand. Realism can discover the "causal complexities of society," as it unmasks the dominant ideological position; in addition, it can be seen as writing from a class viewpoint which offers solutions for fundamental societal problems (1977, 82).

Williams position on realism does not advocate a simplistic uncritical appropriation of realistic texts as bearers of the truth. Yet, unlike Catherine Belsey, who suggests that realism is an illusion and is plausible, not because it reflects the world, but, because it is constructed out of familiar juxtapostions and complexities, and performs the work of ideology (1980, 51), for Williams, realist texts offer representations and misrepresentations of actual lived experience.

He insists that although realist texts offer connections between individual and common experience, this process is never a simple one to one correspondence. Because all texts are socially produced, specific cultural, economic, and political conditions of production, along authors' intent, and the response to the texts must also always be addressed. Even when non-realist cultural forms are utilized, Abercrombie, Lash, and Longhurst suggest that realist discourse is often used to justify it. Finding realism perhaps the most "pervasive regime of signification" in contemporary popular culture, they explain that modernist and postmodernists alike juxtapose their positions against everyday realistic representations of life (1992, 117).

This paper suggests a cultural materialist approach to mass communication history provides a meaningful alternative to traditional media history. This theoretical perspective can expose the reigning ideology in society, ask questions about freedom of the press as a fundamental principle of contemporary society, and focus on the entire social process of history. It insists on a consideration of the emotions, motivations, and expectations of individuals, in addition to the framework imposed by political, cultural, and economic factors in society. It views culture in the totalizing sense as both consciousness and experience, and applies practical criticism to the living culture which resides in all social practices.

Understanding theory as a fundamental component of all historical inquiry, cultural materialism addresses sources of media manipulation and power, issues of communicative competency, and considerations of class struggle as historical phenomena, in human relationships, over time, through which patterns in ideas, relationships and institutions develop.

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BIRTH ORDER

AND

NEWS REPORTING ORIENTATION

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Introduction

For more than a century, social scientists have studied how birth order, family size, and child spacing within families may affect human characteristics and behavior. More than one thousand published studies have attempted to link "family configuration" variables with intelligence, academic achievement, career choice, and myriad other behavioral, attitudinal and personality attributes (Falbo, 1981).

The effect of birth order on career orientation has been the focus of diverse examinations, some of which have looked at the predilection of young adults to become physicians (Layman and Saueracker, 1978); architects (Stone, 1963); writers (Clarke, 1916); inventors (Sulloway, 1990); congressmen (Zweigenhaft, 1975); and even stripteasers (Skipper & McCaghy, 1970).

Key sociological research on journalists' backgrounds has generally measured attribute sociologic and demographic variables exclusive of family configuration. (See Johnstone et al., 1976; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986). Research has provided little insight into potential links between individuals' family configuration and their eventual journalistic career orientation.

The present study seeks to provide fundamental answers to the question: Does birth order influence news reporting orientation among journalists? For example, does family configuration affect individual choices to become an "investigative reporter," or to prefer feature-oriented journalistic work within the profession?

Literature Review

An individual's family--as a small social system--applies more influence to a young person's life than any other single organization, institution or experience (Toman, 1969). While schools, clubs, churches and jobs all come later in life, the early years of family imprinting mold much of an individual's basic personality.

Many researchers have suggested that birth order, like gender, is a powerful influencer of how parent-child relationships are developed and maintained; it may also be a potent determinant of how children fare within the rubric of family-wide "politics" (Kidwell, 1982; Kennedy, 1989). Adler (1928; 1958) concluded that, although the notion of formal primogeniture has ceased to exist in Western Civilization, individuals' ordinal position within family is an "indelible stamp" exerting formidable influence on all aspects of human development.

For several decades after the premier findings of Sir Francis Galton (1874), the predictive outcomes of birth order research looked promising. Then, as social science techniques developed greater reliability and sophistication, consistency in findings became a notable problem (Zajonc, 1975, p.37):

> .... the whole matter became one of the most frustrating areas of psychology. Some researchers began to argue that birth order, like handwriting analysis, inkblot tests and astrology, is a quagmire unlikely to yield more than muddy feet and a fevered brain.

Psychological and physiological variables within family environment are so confounding that researchers have proposed operational contrasts of birth order structures that are peculiar to specific researchers and that are inconsistent across fields. For example, some investigators compare eldest subjects against youngest subjects in psychological posture, while others compare those born in the first half of the sibship with those born in the second half; physiologically, some researchers have controlled for literal "birth order characteristics" by accounting for the effects of perinatal treatments, intrauterine integrity, length of labor, and even the use of forceps in delivery (Warren, 1966). Many other researchers have not.

One stymying problem for birth order investigators is the question of how to employ effective control variables. In tracking human development, for example, how can one adequately control for the effects of interpersonal relationships upon personality? What of the background properties of heredity, genetics and socioeconomic condition? What of degree of parental interest in the child, which is known to frequently differ among siblings, but which is difficult to measure? And how does one reckon with the differentials in cultural phenomena when research is linked across nations?

The literature shows that, empirically, a constellation of useful predictor variables are applied, but inconsistently. Researchers commonly disagree on which independent variables should even be measured when "birth order" is treated as the dependent variable (Retherford & Sewell, 1991; Zajonc & Markus, 1991).

Further, by most accounts, the birth order effect is often a subtle one: In the view of Green (1978, p.iv), "It seems probable that all the birth order relationships together, if fully explained, would account for only a small portion of the variance in human social behavior."

Personality Characteristics of Siblings In Ordinal Contrast

Studies relating birth order with scholastic and social achievement variables have suggested that firstborns generally tend to excel academically over laterborns, and that firstborns are more likely to be overrepresented in leadership positions (Zajonc & Markus, 1975; Zajonc, 1976; Breland, 1974; Belmont & Marolla, 1973; Goodall, 1972; Sandler & Scalia, 1975). By contrast, other studies have concluded that lastborns excel over earlyborns in terms of popularity and social acceptance, but tend to be underrepresented among eminent scholars (McArthur, 1956; Stotland & Walsh, 1963; Schachter, 1963).

"The dice are loaded" in favor of the firstborn, according to Altus (1966). Firstborns have been described as ambitious, aggressive and venturesome (Warren, 1966); less empathetic toward others and more conformist than laterborns (Stotland & Walsh, 1977); self-centered (Falbo, 1981); and more in need of affiliation, recognition, attention, and approval than laterborns (Schachter, 1964; Zweigenhaft, 1975). Adler (1928) has referred to firstborns as "power-hungry conservatives." Sampson (1962) found firstborn males significantly more likely to conform to social pressures than laterborn males; this tendency was slightly reversed among female subjects.

The middleborn birth-group has been least studied, although research evidence indicates a proclivity for them to be more effective managers, negotiators and diplomats than members of other groups (Leman, 1985; Marzollo, 1990). Investigators have credited their "middle of the family experience" with middleborns' seeming capacity to reach out and understand psychological polarities within broad political contexts. Leman (1985) suggests that middleborns come along too late to get the privileges and special treatment of firstborns, but too early to enjoy the relaxed disciplinary reins of laterborns. Middleborns often grow up feeling they have less status and recognition than their siblings, and may feel insecure and inadequate -- unable to carve out a niche in the family structure (Forer, 1969).

Only children have the advantage of not having to compete with siblings for family resources or parental attention; their personalities tend toward self-sufficiency and high self-esteem. On the down side, only children never have the opportunity to form bonds and alliances with siblings, and thus may have underdeveloped social skills, especially in the areas of compromise, sharing and negotiation (Marzollo, 1990). Because the only child is both firstborn and the perpetual "baby of the family," he or she is sometimes pampered as a child, which can contribute to adult personality characteristics of imperiousness.

Lastborns' ordinal position within the family may result in rebellious and iconoclastic personality characteristics.

Lastborns, however, have also been described as socially skilled, entertaining, cheerful and friendly when compared to firstborns (Warren, 1966). Harris (1976) has drawn the point that America's presidential assassins have more often than not been younger sons (John Wilkes Booth; Guiteau [Garfield's assassin]; Oswald; and Sirhan Sirhan, for example). Harris says that, while America's presidents are probabilistically more likely to be firstborn, their assassins are more likely to be lastborn.

Harris and Howard (1968) suggest that lastborns are rarely groomed as surrogates for parents; they resultingly find tradition and the parental role irksome and restrictive. Later sons, finding themselves overshadowed by older siblings, may resent hierarchical structures and be especially suspicious of authorities and bosses. They may adopt an attitude of, "I'll show them!" (Leman, 1985).

Birth Order and Intelligence

One of the more studied and less controversial areas concerns the effects of family configuration on intelligence. While great distinctions exist among scientists on ways of assessing intelligence and intellectual differences among siblings, studies typically agree that a birth order effect can be distinguished. Intelligence is influenced to some degree by heredity; the quality of education and socialization one receives; and by styles of child rearing; but many findings suggest that it is also a product of the number of siblings one has and one's ordinal position among them. Generally, 1) intelligence declines with family size; 2) intelligence declines with birth order; and 3) spacing of children within the family affects intelligence (Zajonc & Markus, 1975; Zajonc, 1976; Belmont & Marolla, 1973; Breland, 1974). Related work shows that firstborns consistently receive better grades in school than laterborns (Chittenden, et al., 1968; Elder, 1962; Oberlander & Jenkin, 1967; Chopra, 1960).

Belmont and Marolla (1973) examined the birth order and intelligence of 386,114 Dutchmen. These data, taken from Dutch military examinations, represented almost the entire population of 19-year-old men in the Netherlands born between 1944 and 1947. The researchers used the Raven Progressive Matrices, a nonverbal intelligence test which the authors argue was among the least-biased measures of intelligence available at the time. Findings showed a clear effect of family size on IQ, and a pronounced birth order effect within varied family sizes: The brightest children came from the smallest families, and--within each family size--the brightest children were those who came along early. The relationship of birth order to intelligence, like family size to intelligence, held up independent of social class.

A variety of explanations has been rendered to account for the impact that number of siblings has upon education performance. Some researchers suggest that physiological and genetic factors are at work (Grotevant et al., 1977; Bayer, 1967); a few have hypothesized that with each successive child the uterus deteriorates, thus producing increasingly inferior children.

The mathematical "confluence model," proposed by Zajonc and Markus (1975), is among the more popular explanations of the birth order effect upon intelligence. Its basic premise is that within the family, the intellectual growth of every member is dependent on that of all other members, and that the rate of this intellectual growth depends on the family configuration at a given point in time.

The Zajonc and Markus findings suggest that: 1) intellectual performance decreases with family size; 2) earlyborn children do better on intelligence tests than laterborns even when birth intervals are short; 3) long interval gaps between siblings tend to cancel the negative effects of birth order; 4) long intervals enhance intellectual growth; 5) the benefits of being an only child are counteracted by the lack of opportunity for only children to serve as "teachers" to younger children; 6) last children, like onlys, suffer the same handicap due to lack of siblings to "teach"; 7) absence of a parent, even for a short period, is associated with lower intellectual performance by children; and 8) males and females differ in average birth order, with females more likely than males to come late in the sibship.

Another hypothesis with regard to intelligence has gained favor for its functionality. The "resource dilution" hypothesis holds that the more children in a family, the fewer intellectually profitable resources there are to go around. It suggests that the children who--through might or wit--manage to garner the most resources will be the ones who will excel academically. It accounts for negative correlations between high IQ and large family size by relating big families to diminished resources within these families.

Both the confluence model and the resource dilution hypothesis have been criticized and, in some cases, later empirical findings have contradicted the findings of initial investigators. Retherford and Sewell (1991), for example, found that aggregate patterns among 10,000 Wisconsin high school graduates refute the mathematical propositions of the confluence model.

Birth Order and Achievement

Much social science evidence suggests that firstborns are more likely to achieve social and intellectual eminence and fame than are middleborns or lastborns.

For example, firstborns and only children are overrepresented among Rhodes Scholars (Apperly, 1939), National Merit Scholar Finalists (Altus, 1966), college undergraduate and graduate enrollees (Altus, 1966; Schachter, 1963), medical students (Layman & Saueracker, 1978), those listed in *Who's Who in America* (Jones, 1954), and those listed across many years' editions of *American Men and Women of Science* (Altus, 1966, Warren, 1966); interestingly, 21 of the first 23 American astronauts were firstborn or only children.

Several studies also show firstborn and onlyborn dominance in the world of politics, from Congress (Zweigenhaft, 1975) to the White House (Goodall, 1972): A majority of U.S. presidents have been firsts or onlys. Forbes (1971) found that firstborns were not overrepresented among political candidates in Illinois, but they were among *successful* candidates. Other studies have shown that the leadership association to birth order extends to females as well as males (Sandler & Scalia, 1975).

Sampson (1962) argues that, by nature, firstborns show a stronger need for non-academic achievement than do middle- or laterborns, and will work harder to fulfill this need.

Birth Order and Occupational Choice

The research linking birth order and occupation is neither as plentiful nor as conclusive as that discussing birth and intellect / achievement.

A greater proportion of firstborns or only children was found among scientists (61%) than among writers (23%), although there was a significant tendency among novelists and short story writers to be laterborns, while poets were evenly spread across birth order (Roe, 1953).

Marzollo (1990) is among those speculating that firstborns are more likely to choose demanding careers than lastborns. Leman's view (1985) is that "babies of the family" (laterborns) gravitate toward vocations that are people-oriented, while firstborns and onlys prefer jobs involving the handling of intellectual commerce of various types.

Zweigenhaft (1975) suggests that the firstborn becomes a "dethroned king" who loses his monopoly on family attention when other siblings are born; the loss, he says, arouses a strong life-long need for recognition and approval which the child, later the adult, seeks through high worldly achievement.

Platt et al. (1968) found that firstborn females expected significantly higher salaries than female only children and laterborn females. Firstborn males had significantly higher occupational status expectations than did only child or laterborn males, a finding consistent with the firstborn-as-"king" motif described by Zweigenhaft.

One major pattern is described by Oberlander et al. (1971), who conducted a study in which subjects were asked to name the type of people they would most like to meet. The choices of the firstborns for science, education, poetry and writing indicated a preference for intellectual activities which had minimum social interaction. The choices of laterborns for social welfare and "personal" careers like counseling and teaching revealed an interest in activities having a high degree of social participation and concern.

Little work has been done in the area with regard to the mass communications professions. Leman (1985, p.13) performed qualitative research describing the birth order effect upon journalistic careers, noting that newspaper reporters tend to be firstborns while broadcast announcers and anchorpersons tend to be laterborn: "You could probably make a good guess that your zany weatherman on the six o'clock news is the baby of the family--he's a performer, a showman." He notes that many prominent male news anchors are firstborn or only children, including Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor and Ed Bradley. Many female television news announcers, on the other hand, are lastborn, such as Diane Sawyer, Jane Pauley, Joan Lunden, and Connie Chung. (It should be noted that these observations are essentially anecdotal, and that no exhaustive study of communicators' birth orders has yet been conducted).

A recent study by M.I.T.'s Frank Sulloway (1990) involved 20 years of research on the birth order link to scientific orthodoxy among scientists. Of more than 40 variables examined, birth order emerged as the single best predictor of attitudes toward innovation in science, where "laterborns have generally introduced and supported new scientific theories over the protests of their firstborn colleagues" (p.1). A sensitive regression model was incorporated to test all significant predictors, which included social, economic, cultural, religious and political attitudes of 2,784 scientists (pp.10;17):

> Laterborns have consistently supported scientific theories that possess liberal or radical leanings (toward political and social reforms, materialism and atheism).... In contrast, firstborns have initially accepted only the most conservative new theories... that affirm the social, religious, and political status quo.... (Results show) .... 86 % of firstborns opposed the various radical scientific alternatives I have examined; in contrast, ... 90 % of laterborns were supporters ($\underline{r} = .69$; $p < .001$). Yet the shared family environments of these various sibling scientists were virtually identical.

Sulloway's findings suggest that laterborns generally favor scientific innovation and what are normally considered "unorthodox" approaches to solving problems which face them professionally. Firstborns, "who identify more closely with parents and authority" (p.22), typically oppose these revolutionary concepts and support the status quo. Laterborns are seen as more willing than firstborns to test the limits and to rebel against authority, a finding which ratifies numerous earlier-cited birth order studies.

Hypothesis and Research Questions

In studying the sociological characteristics of American journalists, Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) identified a journalistic ideology holding that a primary role of the occupation is to be an adversary of government and business. This "adversarial typology" refers to reporters who may be critical of existing social power structures and who fervently subscribe to the "checks and balances" function of journalism. In practice, these individuals may align themselves with the role of investigative reporter.

By way of occupational distinction, and here introduced as an operational definition, the feature reporter is considered most unlike the investigative journalist. The feature reporter is much more likely than the investigative reporter to pursue "soft" news stories designed for explanation and entertainment; the feature report is less likely to contain critical perspectives with regard to its subject, and--while both feature and investigative stories may be analytical in nature--the feature mindset does not gravitate toward incisive analyses of government and business.

Given that lastborns tend to be less allegiant to the social order and to authority in general than other birth types, they may be more likely to self-select themselves into roles as investigative reporters. Further, the literature suggests that lastborn males have greater tendencies to be iconoclastic "foes of bigness" and existing social order than lastborn females:

H 1: Investigative reporters are more likely than feature reporters to be lastborn among siblings and male, while feature reporters are more likely to be of an earlier ordinal birth position and female.

Research questions include the following:

1) Do values with regard to the role of journalism differ according to birth order? That is, is birth order an accurate predictor of reporter attitudes about the reporter's occupation?

2) Does birth order predict which type of medium (television or newspaper) for which a reporter works?

Methodology

The present study retains the often-used trichotomy of distinguishing among birth orders: 1) Firstborn and only children; 2) Middleborns; and, 3) Lastborns. This classification is normally accepted in birth order studies, although many social scientists have opted for more refined taxonomies.

Subjects were full-time journalists in America's 20 largest markets, as noted by Standard Rate and Data Service (1991). In each of these markets, two daily newspapers and two television stations were randomly chosen for a total of 40 newspapers and 40 television stations, or 80 media outlets in all. Radio stations were not included because many had news staffs too small to offer meaningful distinctions between investigative and feature reporters working in the same shop.

Subject selection within media outlets was systematic: Telephone contacts were initially made with news editors and news directors (or their surrogates) in each outlet. Newsroom managers were asked to identify the two reporters in their shop most likely to perform investigative reporting on a regular basis, and the two most likely to do feature reporting, in accordance with the definitions noted on page 13.

In all, 178 reporters (half investigative, half feature) were identified and sent mail questionnaires in Fall, 1991. Returned surveys were classified as either investigative or feature using the following criteria: The pre-designation offered by the newsroom manager was considered, but along with subject responses to four filter questions regarding subject newsgathering duties and title. There were thus five criteria, where reporters were fitted into "reporter type" categories based upon majority answers to these five questions. If all else was equal, the news managers' pre-designation was used to break the tie. Surveys were disposed of if subject responses to filter questions were clearly contrary to the pre-designation afforded by the manager.

The categorization system attempted to create sub-groups which were as polaristically opposite as possible on this variable.

Results were subjected to loglinear model-fitting procedures and discriminant analysis techniques using the SPSS-X mainframe computer program. The "logit" model was deemed appropriate for primary analysis, using the categorical variable of reporter type (investigative/ feature) as the dependent variable, and using birth order and gender as independent variables.

Results

Eighty-six usable questionnaires were received, a response rate of 48%. Of total respondents, 59% (n = 51) were male and 41% (n = 35) female. In all, 59% worked for newspapers and 41% for television stations. (It is interesting to note that 62% of contacted newspaper reporters returned surveys, while only 36% of television reporters did).

Approximately two-thirds of respondents held a four-year or advanced degree, and more than half of those reported majoring in journalism or mass communications while in college. Ninety-one percent said they reported several times a week or more, while only 5% said they reported once a week or less.

Respondent ages ranged from 28 to 64 years, with a mean of age 40 and a mode of age 36. Eighty-four percent of the sample came from families of four or fewer children, while the average number of siblings was 2.4. Thirty-seven percent of respondents were firstborn or only children; 35% were middleborn; 28% were lastborn.

A loglinear model was constructed to find the degree of influence of the birth order and gender variables upon type of reporter. An initial "saturated" model -- which provided parameter estimates for each variable and standardized values for their coefficients -- suggested that birth order does not provide a significant contribution to variance in reporter type. Gender does, however, as noted in Table 1:

Table 1. Loglinear logit model parameter estimates.
[* = p < .05]

Variable	Coefficient	Z-Value
- Reporter Type (investigative or feature)	.1104	0.95
- Gender	.2216	1.99 *
- Birthorder	.0851	0.53
- Reporter Type By Gender	.2681	2.31 *
- Reporter Type By Birthorder	.0081	0.05
- Reporter Type By Gender By Birthorder	.1292	0.80

Birthorder was found not to interact with gender.

A more satisfying model was constructed using only gender as an independent variable. The majority of final adjusted residuals for this secondary model were less than 1.0, and the "likelihood ratio" chi-square statistic demonstrated a moderately good fit (chi-sq.= 5.49; df = 5; *p* = .360). See *Table 2*:

Table 2. Observed and Expected Logit Model Frequencies, Accounting for Birth Order, Where Reporter Type (DV) is a Function of Gender (IV).

GROUP	BIRTHORDER	FREQUENCIES & PCT. OBSERVED	EXPECTED	ADJUSTED RESIDUALS
Male Investigative	Only/First	13 (65%)	12.6 (63%)	0.233
	Mid-Born	10 (56%)	11.3 (63%)	-0.714
	Last-Born	7 (54%)	8.2 (63%)	-0.724
Female Investigative	Only/First	3 (25%)	4.5 (37%)	-0.943
	Mid-Born	2 (17%)	4.5 (37%)	-1.587
	Last-Born	6 (55%)	4.1 (37%)	1.273
Male Feature	Only/First	7 (35%)	7.4 (37%)	-0.233
	Mid-Born	8 (44%)	6.7 (37%)	0.714
	Last-Born	6 (46%)	4.8 (37%)	0.724
Female Feature	Only/First	9 (75%)	7.5 (63%)	0.943
	Mid-Born	10 (83%)	7.5 (63%)	1.587
	Last-Born	5 (45%)	6.9 (63%)	-1.274

Thus,

H 1: Investigative reporters are more likely than feature reporters to be lastborn among siblings and male, while feature reporters are more likely to be of an earlier ordinal birth position and female. REJECTED.

Investigative reporters are more likely to be male (73%), while feature reporters are more likely to be female (53%), but there is no evidence that ordinal birth position within the family has anything to do with the career choice.

There is a tendency for male investigative reporters to be only/firstborn (13 of 30, or 43%), but for female investigative reporters to be lastborn (6 of 11, or 55%). The middleborn group is unremarkable excepting for overrepresentation among the female feature reporter type. Low cell sizes make further generalizing hazardous.

Research questions addressed attitudinal variables thought to vary according to birth order among reporters generally.

Discriminant analysis was employed in order to test these variables across the fundamental trichotomy of birth orders. According to Norusis (1988, p.187), the goal of discriminant analysis is "to classify cases into one of several mutually exclusive groups on the basis of observed characteristics."

The analysis included several career orientation variables tested by Weaver and Wilhoit (1988) as predictors of journalistic value systems. Examined are responses to the following Likert-scale statements: "The role of journalism is to... 1) "... be an adversary of public officials by being skeptical of their actions"; 2) "... be an adversary of business officials by being skeptical of their actions"; 3) "... provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems"; 4) "... discuss national policy while it is still being developed"; 5) "... get information to the public as quickly as possible"; 6) "... concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible audience;" 7) "... develop the intellectual and cultural interests of the public"; and, 8) "... provide entertainment and relaxation."

Responses to five of the eight statements proved statistically significant at the p = .05 level, as seen in Table 3:

Table 3. Discriminant analysis summary table showing contribution of "journalistic values" variables (IVs) to variance in birth order (DV). Method: Wilks' stepwise inclusion.

MODEL:	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Square	D.F.	Signif.
N = 83	.779	19.25	10	.037

				GROUP MEANS "1"= Low Imp. / "3"= High				
Variable Entered	Step In	Wilks' Lambda	Sig.	Only/1st		Midbn		Lastbn
Providing Entertainment	1	.913	.03	1.9	<	2.2	<	2.3
Getting News Out Quickly	2	.869	.03	2.6	<	2.7	<	2.9
Develop Public's Cultr/ Intellct	3	.843	.04	2.2	>	2.0	<	2.4
Be Adversary of Business Officials	4	.819	.05	2.7	<	2.8	<	2.9
Be Adversary of Public Officials	5	.779	.04	2.8	<	2.9	>	2.8

The Wilks procedure resulted in a stepwise inclusion of variables based upon a selection rule that minimized Wilks' Lambda. Of the eight variables considered, five were entered, resulting in a statistically significant model showing differences among group means.

The most powerful variable referred to the journalistic role of "providing entertainment and relaxation" to the public. The only/firstborn group saw this function as of lower importance than did the other two groups, perhaps a reflection of the only/ firstborn tendency for "getting down to business." The group citing this as *most* important was the lastborn group--noted in the social psychology literature as being "entertainers."

The same pattern of agreement shows up with regard to "getting the news out quickly," where lastborns, then middles, then only/firstborns saw it from most-to-least important, in that order. The only/ firstborn group may be showing a degree of thoughtfulness about the news product here that is less evident in the other groups; perhaps the serious nature of the only/firstborns is reflected in their thinking that they should take time with stories rather than rushing them out to press or to broadcast.

The middleborn group was least supportive of the notion of "developing the public's cultural and intellectual interests," while the other two groups see this as generally more important. No explanation is rendered for this phenomenon.

Among groups, the middleborns are most supportive of the role of media as "adversary of public officials," a tendency that intuitively should be ascribed to laterborns. However, the mean differences here, while significant, are not as great as for the other statements in the model. It may be that this traditional "adversarial" function of the press is thought of as a truism across groups, with all three rating it as very important generally.

Lastborns do come through as most supportive among groups of the role of "adversary of business officials." Middleborns are less supportive, and only/firstborns the least supportive of this ideology; this phenomenon is consistent with the literature's suggestion that only/firstborns are business-oriented "company men (and women)."

The final point to be addressed with regard to birth order is that of type of medium that journalists work for: Does birth order predict whether a reporter will work for either a newspaper or a TV station? A chi-square test of significance of birth order by type of medium does not support the argument (chi-sq.= 3.59; df = 4; n.s.) What may be notable is that middleborns leaned toward newspaper reporting more than the other two groups: Nearly two-thirds of middleborns (n = 19) were newspaper reporters, while only 33% (n = 10) were employed by television outlets. Perhaps this is suggestive of the middleborns' proclivity to be diplomats and "negotiators," if one believes that the print format of structuring news and editorials allows for greater public discussion of issues.

Conclusions

On the whole, there are moderate suggestions that established birth order typologies may predict journalists' attitudes toward their work, at least with regard to several attitudinal markers used by prior communications researchers.

At the same time, the key hypothesis suggesting that birth order should predict whether a journalist will be working as either an investigative or a feature reporter is unsupported.

Within the sample population, there is evidence that investigative reporters are more likely to be male, while feature reporters are more likely to be female. This finding is not inconsistent with industry data, and seems to ratify a cultural stereotype regarding occupational orientations between genders. This effect was not found to be linked with birth order, however.

In short, there is the suggestion that birth order is a better predictor of news reporter attitudes about journalism than it is a predictor of applied, actual job choice.

Social psychologists have long been involved in a debate concerning the role of attitude in behavioral science, and whether attitude is a precursor of behavior or an element of behavior; some have even argued that behavior causes attitude. (Bem, 1970, p.57, says, "the individual... infers his own internal states by observing his own overt behavior.") If it is true that journalists acquire beliefs by their own behaviors, the interpretations of the present study must be truly complex.

On the other hand, it could simply be that what people do for a living and how they think about their business are two different things. In this context, birth order seems to have less to do with occupational choice, and more to do with professional values. Given the benumbing universe of variables attendant to birth order which may affect both career choice and values, it is beyond the scope of the present study to fully explain the link.

Future research may profit from a measure which is more sensitive to individual and environmental differences among respondents, and which has a sample size large enough to overcome at least some of the reliability problems which have traditionally plagued researchers in the field of family configuration.

Future studies should also attempt a finer grasp of anthropological and psychological foundations, including efforts to emphasize a theory-driven approach to understanding birth order phenomena. Family configuration distinctions may be so slight, and social science methods so inexact, that only a firm theoretical groundwork will allow proper explication of the birth order effect in the realm of the mass communicator.

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MEDIA WATCHERS: THEIR CONCERNS, THEIR TACTICS AND THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

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MEDIA WATCHERS: THEIR CONCERNS, THEIR TACTICS, AND THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

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How the mass media should respond to their critics is a subject of considerable debate. Different views were expressed at a 1991 Poynter Institute called "Media Criticism: Watching the Watchdogs."

Media critics deserve a better hearing, said Dean James Carey of the University of Illinois College of Journalism:

> Carey invoked the image of democracy as a great conversation, a people talking to itself. He wondered where in present-day journalism is the place for the public, the citizens involved in that conversation. To leave them out is a disservice not only to them, but to our democracy.
>
> Without a tradition of criticism, Carey said, the press remains unchallenged. When an aggrieved party complains, the press quickly retreats behind the ramparts of the First Amendment (Sweeney, 1991, p. 18).

Other speakers at the seminar warned about giving too much attention to noisy special interest groups. Jonathan Alter, senior writer of Newsweek, warned against special interests getting their "political agendas through customs disguised as media criticism." Roy Peter Clark, dean of the Poynter faculty, raised the prospect that the press might be bending over backward to be sensitive to some groups, such as the religious right, at the expense of others. Bob Steele, director of the ethics program, said Carey's "conversation between the newspaper and its public" should be multidirectional (Sweeney, 1991, p. 18).

Time magazine in an August 1991 article about media watchers chose the headline: "The Media's Wacky Watchdogs." The headline typifies the claim of most media watcher organizations in their relationship with the press: The press seems to be hard of hearing.

Time suggests that the best media basher is the one who suffers in silence. When media bashers get together and champion their rights, Time suggests they merit the "wacky" designation.

> There are two kinds of media bashers in the U.S.: those who can't make a few bucks from it, and those who can. The first consists of millions of ordinary Americans who don't like journalists but do nothing more than moan about them. The second group is made up of full-time bashers who publish a lot of newsletters. Some of these professionals have a galling charm, a refreshing sassiness, perhaps even a mild sense of humor. Most don't (Time, August 5, 1991, p. 54).

Professional media watchers need subscribers. People who feel sufficiently alienated from the mainstream news media that they are willing to pay $30 or so a year to hear what these full-time media bashers have to say. There is no mystery as to who they are. Journalism's own research has identified this clientele. "Sophisticated skeptics" were described by a 1985 newspaper credibility study conducted for the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The report suggested that "sophisticated skeptics" make up perhaps one-fourth of the adult population, and the group is likely to exert influence beyond its numbers (ASNE, 1985, p. 47).

> For "sophisticated skeptics," familiarity with the media may breed contempt. The "sophisticated skeptics" with personal knowledge of news events were more likely than other people with such personal contact to criticize the fairness and accuracy of the news coverage of those events. They also were more critical than others of their newspapers' reporting and coverage of controversial issues (ASNE, 1985, p. 47).

This study deals with groups which cater to the concerns of "sophisticated skeptics." They were selected largely because a major part of each group's agenda is devoted to criticism of some aspect of mass media content--news, advertising or entertainment. These groups are described as "media watchers." In some instances, media watching is their sole focus. In others, concern about the mass media is only one part of a group's broader agenda.

While "sophisticated skeptics" represent a minority of the public, they have been described as a "noisy and interested minority" who may shape the public agenda on the news media-public trust issue, even when representative opinion polls would suggest there is a "supportive majority" for the news media among people who are less educated, less informed and less interested in media performance than these activists (Gannett Center, 1985, p. 23).

This analysis of media watchers is divided into three categories: Their concerns, their tactics, and some indication of their results.

MEDIA WATCHER CONCERNS

Liberal bias/Conservative bias

A principal battleground among media watcher organizations is whether the nation's mass media are shaped by a liberal or a conservative bias.

Liberal Bias

The three major conservative media monitoring groups are noted by Rusher in The Coming Battle for the Media: Curbing the Power of the Media Elite. In a section on "external monitoring," he features three groups: Accuracy in Media, Media Research Center, and the Center for Media and Public Affairs (Rusher, 1988, pp. 174-182).

Time magazine's article on media watchdogs concentrated heavily on those which seem to have political motivations, both on the right and the left. On the right, it gave its most extensive discussion to two groups, Accuracy in Media (AIM) and the Media Research Center.

Time identifies Accuracy in Media, headed by Reed Irvine, as the granddaddy of media watcher organizations.

> Irvine's twice-monthly newsletter, AIM Report, remains obsessed with persuading the New York Times and Washington Post to admit that they shape the news to fit a liberal political agenda. His tirades against the Times even extend to making suggestions on decor: he wants the paper to take down its plaque honoring its 1930s Moscow correspondent, Walter Duranty, who he accuses of being a "Pulitzer prizewinning apologist for Stalin." Another Pulitzer prizewinner on Irvine's hit list is CNN's Desert Storm superstar Peter Arnett, who, according to Irvine, "may have done more than any other single reporter to help make Ho Chi Minh's morale-sapping strategy work. Arnett, of course, does not have a plaque at the Times building (Time, 1991, p. 54).

A 1990 book, Profiles of Deception, by Irvine and Media Monitor commentator Cliff Kincaid, features over one hundred columns and Media Monitor broadcasts with such titles as: "Media Still Unfair To Quayle," "PBS: Lies About My Lai," "60 Minutes Is Dangerous To Health (Alar)," "Flag Burning: A One-sided CBS View," "Media Still Biased Against Pro-Lifers," "Misinformation on South Africa," "NBC Promotes Teen-Age Homosexuality," and "Media Still Gentle on Jesse Jackson" (Irvine, 1990, p. v to xv).

The Media Research Center has also published a book on what it regards liberal media bias. It is called: And That's The Way It Isn't: A Reference Guide to Media Bias. One of the Media Research Center's most recent concerns is to join critics who claim the Public

Broadcasting Service has a liberal bias. It charges that Frontline, the weekly PBS public affairs show, serves as a mouthpiece for trendy liberal causes. It also regards the specials featuring Bill Moyers as following a liberal agenda.

The Center for Media and Public Affairs has provided academic legitimacy to the vociferous concerns of the political right and religious right. The Lichter, Rothman and Lichter study, The Media Elite, is the most quoted source for these groups' dissatisfaction with the mainstream media. These groups are particularly interested with those findings which deal with the demographics of journalists on America's television networks and major publications.

> The demographics are clear. The media elite are a homogeneous and cosmopolitan group, who were raised at some distance from the social and cultural traditions of small-town middle America. Drawn mainly from big cities in the northeast and north central states, their parents tended to be well off, highly educated members of the upper middle class. Most have moved away from any religious heritage, and very few are regular churchgoers. In short, the typical leading journalist is the very model of the modern eastern urbanite.
>
> The dominant perspective of this group is equally apparent. Today's leading journalists are politically liberal and alienated from traditional norms and institutions. Most place themselves to the left of center and regularly vote the Democratic ticket. Yet theirs is not the New Deal liberalism of the underprivileged, but the contemporary social liberalism of the urban sophisticate. They favor a strong welfare state within a capitalist framework. They differ most from the general public, however, on the diverse social issues that have emerged since the 1960s--abortion, gay rights, affirmative action, etc. Many are alienated from the "system" and quite critical of America's world role. They would like to strip traditional powerbrokers of their influence and empower black leaders, consumer groups, intellectuals, and...the media (Lichter et al, 1986, p. 294)

Concern about liberal bias is a frequent topic of articles in such conservative publications as The New American, New Dimensions, The

Spotlight and The Washington Inquirer. Ollie North's Freedom Alliance occasionally takes the "liberal media" to task, although he principally has an anti-government agenda.

Conservative Bias

There are also a large number of media watchers with the opposite political perspective who contend that liberal thinkers rarely have access to the mainline mass media.

Mother Jones echoed a theme championed by FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), which contends that the media invite an incestuous list of conservative experts to comment on news developments. It devoted a cover story to a 55-page study, The News Shapers Study, produced at the University of Minnesota School of Journalism, which analyzed the experts used by the ABC, CBS and NBC evening news shows during 1987 and 1988. The authors, Los Angeles-based journalist Marc Cooper and University of Minnesota teacher Lawrence C. Soley, found that a very small group of experts returned night after night to comment on news developments.

> They tend to be men rather than women, East Coasters rather than West, and Republicans (along with a few conservative Democrats) rather than critics of the political establishment. Also favored by television news are ex-government officials (mostly from Republican administrations), and "scholars" from conservative Washington, D.C., think tanks who appear to be more steeped in political partisanship than in academic credentials (Cooper and Soley, 1990, p. 20).

In These Times expresses a similar view:

> One of the most outrageous and enduring fictions of our time is "the Liberal Media Conspiracy," a.k.a., "the Media," which is out to "get" the president, gun lobby, "pro"-lifers, televangelists, etc. Yet, with the exception of Jesse Jackson, there is not a serious left-wing moderator on "serious" talk show panels...

> ...Where has "The Liberal Media Conspiracy" brought the nation? Into some left-wing commie dystopia in which law-breaking presidents are impeached for selling guns to terrorists or exporting jobs to Matamoros? Not exactly. The very same people who, with such unprecedented and vicious unanimity, lambasted Oliver Stone for his pastiche of conspiracy theories in JFK themselves colluded in the Great Softball Conspiracy leading to Depression II. We learned about Iran-contra from a Beirut rag. We learned about the S&L debacle from the government! (Where is Leonid Brezhnev when we need him?) Welcome to the Abyss of Imperial Rot, brought to you by General Electric (Charbeneau, 1992, p. 24).

People for the American Way is the only signficiant membership group which expresses concern about a conservative bias in the media. It appears that the liberal perspective is reflected more through opinion publications than through membership groups.

Lifestyle Conformity/Lifestyle Freedom

Another major controversy among media critics is over the lifestyle reflected in the mass media. The focal point of the controversy to be various sexual issues--pornography or indecency, feminism, homosexuality, abortion rights. It is the principal battleground of media watchers belonging to conservative religious organizations and those who support individual choice in lifestyle decisions.

Religious Moralists

Joseph Farah's Between the Lines regularly makes common cause with the religious moralists by showing how hostile Hollywood is to the Christian religion. Ted Turner and Norman Lear are favorite targets for Farah in this regard.

Farah noted that Turner seems willing to downgrade Christianity in his support for world peace. Quoting from the Dallas

Morning News, Farah said Turner told a group of his idea for changing the calendar:

> Speaking to a group of his colleagues, (Turner) suggested changing the way we calculate years from the current BC (Before Christ) and AD (Anno Domini--in the year of our Lord).
>
> "Why don't we broadcasters make it our goal to get the world at peace by the year 2000?" he offered. "Let's make it the year zero--BP and AP. Before Peace and After Peace."
>
> Again, this kind of arrogance and insensitivity should not come as a shock to Turner-watchers. The summer issue of Crisis magazine contains what Turner proposes as 10 "voluntary initiatives" of secularism to replace the Bible's Ten Commandments. For Turner, the ultimate authority rests not with a Supreme Being but the United Nations (Between the Lines, 1989, p. 6).

"The Ted Commandments," taken from a speech to the National Newspaper Association, are pro-environment, pro-Soviet, pro-population control, anti-war, anti-weapons, pro-United Nations, and support for policies which would improve health care, housing and education for the poor (Between The Lines, 1989, p. 6).

Religious moralists bristle at the charge that they advocate censorship. A typical response in this regard is expressed by Tim LaHaye, husband of Barbara LaHaye, president of Concerned Women of America, declared that media themselves are society's "hidden censors."

> But during the past fifty years or so, something has happened to the mass media. Gradually, our communications system has been taken over by men and women who for the most part do not share our traditional moral values. It has been seized by people who are much more godless, immoral, or amoral in their outlook than are the American people as a whole. As you will soon learn, we no longer have free media in America. They have been captured by a combination of liberals, socialists, atheists, humanists, and Marxists, who are using the media to change our nation and destroy traditional moral values.
>
> They demand the "freedom" to attack those who do not share their liberal philosophy and "liberated" way of

> life. With almost complete impunity, they distort, ridicule, and openly criticize religion, patriotism, the free-enterprise system, and conservatism as if they were this nation's principal enemies. When criticized as biased, unfair, or prejudiced, they cry "censorship." In reality, they are the worse censors of all (LaHaye, 1984, pp. 9-10).

Groups fitting the "moralist" profile includes the American Family Association, Christian Coalition, Christian Film and Television Commission, CLeaR-TV, Concerned Women of America, The Dove Foundation, Eagle Forum, Focus on the Family, Good News Communications, Morality in Media, National Association of Rating Boards, National Coalition Against Pornography, and The Roundtable.

Other groups frequently supporting moralistic values along with a broader agenda include Accuracy in Media, Between the Lines, Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment, The New American, and the Parent Music Resource Center.

Opposition to Religious Moralists

The American Civil Liberties Union is particularly opposed to efforts by conservative political and religious groups. Executive Director Ira Glasser spelled out the difference between its uncompromising position on individual liberties, including freedom of the press, and the conservatives' position that they represent the majority. In an article observing the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, Glasser said:

> In the late 1960s, Vice President Spiro Agnew spoke of a "silent majority" of Americans who supposedly opposed many of the rights secured by the Constitution. During the early 1980s, Reverend Jerry Falwell spoke of a "moral majority" that he said was opposed to many civil liberties and wanted to return to what he called "traditional American values." Such claims assume an antagonism between liberty and the common good, as if the expansion of one necessarily limits the other, and imply a preference for majoritarian control over individual

> rights. This view gained ground during the 1980s, and by 1990 the Supreme Court had begun to reflect it.
>
> The early Americans--the First Majority!--saw it differently. For them, the attainment of liberty was both a part of the common good and the higher good. To them, according to historian Bernard Bailyn, the great antagonism of the public world was not between the common good and liberty, but between governmental power and liberty. And it was not a fair fight: Governmental power was viewed as predatory and, therefore, dangerous; liberty was fragile and vulnerable. Writes Bailyn: "The one must be resisted, the other defended, and the two must never be confused" (Glasser, Fall 1991, p. 12).

People for American Way has 277,000 members who are interested in combating the abuses of the religious moralists. The June 1992 issue of its publication Right Wing Watch expressed concern about the recent gains made in the "culture war" by the religious right.

> Over the past several months, organizations led by Pat Robertson, Don Wildmon and others have won some major battles in their "culture war." So far, they have succeeded in putting the Bush Administration in their pocket, while taking aim at new targets. The question this summer is: will Congress roll over as easily as George Bush? Unless there is a strong public outcry, the outlook is troubling.
>
> For years, groups including Don Wildmon's American Family Association and Phyllis Schlafley's Eagle Forum have hammered away at the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), seeking restrictions that would stop the agency from funding "controversial" art. Together with Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), Rep. William Dannemeyer (R-CA), and other Congressional allies, they have created a climate in the art world that is reminiscent of the "blacklisting" era of the 1950s...
>
> Emboldened by the success of their attacks on the NEA, the cultural warriors have latched on to another target: public broadcasting. Last year, Don Wildmon, Pat Robertson and others launched their assault on public TV by running a national campaign of distortion about "Tongues Untied," a documentary about the lives of black gay men (PFAW, Right Wing Watch, June 1992).

Action for Children's Television used to be a staunch opponent of actions taken by the religious moralists. Liberal publications such as The Nation, Mother Jones, and In These Times regularly do battle in support of such targets as the NEA and Public Broadcasting.

When homosexuals are the issue, the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force and GLAAD aggressively push for sympathetic and realistic treatment of homosexuality in the media.

The National Coalition Against Censorship also devotes much of its efforts in combatting the moralists:

> The notorious Senate Judiciary Committee is considering a bill (S.1521 - Pornography Victims Compensation Act) which would chill literature, art and sex education by the threat of bankruptcy. It would permit suits against producers, distributors and exhibitors of sexually related expression by plaintiffs who contend that sexual assaults against them were "caused" by the expression. Even if the material is judged **not** obscene and **not** the cause of a crime, legal costs--against artists, performers, book publishers, etc.--could be ruinous (NCAC, 1992).

Racial/Ethnic/Religious Stereotyping and Discrimination

There are two broad groups concerned about stereotyping and discrimination in the mass media. One grouping is a number of identity organizations which fight for what they consider proper media treatment of their own members. The other grouping are broader, umbrella groups which are concerned about stereotyping and discrimination as a policy issue.

The Middle East conflict is the focus of a number of groups, including the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting, FLAME, Near East Report, and New American View.

The National Black Media Confederation works principally promote access of black professionals to jobs in the mass media. Other organizations which appear to be dedicated to combatting discrimination against blacks in the media did not respond to inquiries which were a part of this study.

There are a number of women's groups which pursue a variety of objectives with regards to the mass media. For instance, the National Organization of Women and Concerned Women of America can be counted on to oppose one another on almost any woman's issue. Other groups include the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Media Report to Women, National Federation of Press Women, Women are Good News, and Women, Men and the Media.

Those groups concerned about stereotyping and discrimination as a policy issue would include such publications as In These Times, Mother Jones, and The Nation; Center for Media and Values, the National Council of Churches, The United Church, Fairness & Accuracy in Media, and People for the American Way, and most groups representing women or minorities.

Donna Allen, president of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, makes the point that such groups must speak themselves, rather than have the white, male-dominated media speak "for" them:

> It is not enough that those who own the national media attempt to report the information from the diverse elements of society, try to speak for them. By definition, democracy assumes that all citizens vote, speak and participate politically as equals; the First Amendment was not written to create a public utility for the purpose of speaking for those who do not own a printing press, but for all people to speak for themselves in their own words (Allen, 1990, p. 13).

Independence of Media from Economic or Political Pressure

While most media watchers are concerned about "sins of commission," there are those who express fear that our press is not experiencing sufficient independence to truly do its job.

Economic Pressures

Of particular concern in terms of economic pressures are the media's own managers. Although the press is a private business, there is a tradition that the economic success of a news medium will come through its service of the public interest rather than the pursuit of its own financial self-interest.

While advertising is the economic mainstay of the media, there is a feeling among some that it is the media's principal villain. An example of this is line of reasoning is a new report by the Center for the Study of Commercialism. The study notes that advertising influences the presentation of news in two ways, direct economic censorship in which advertisers intimidate the news media and journalistic self-censorship in which "news" follows the consumer's interest in shopping and entertainment.

To get back to news unfettered by commercialism, the Center's report suggests two alternatives. An In These Times account of the publication's highlights draws upon comments made by sociologist Todd Gitlin. Gitlin suggests that Americans should pay more attention to systems of public regulation which prevent private media financing from having any control of editorial content. He cited as an example Britain's Channel 4. Gitlin also suggested state grants, like Sweden's newspaper subsidy (Bleifuss, 1992, p. 5).

Ben Bagdikain, dean of the graduate school of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, is one of the most quoted sources in this regard. His book The Media Monopoly is to the political left what The Media Elite is to the political and religious right.

A frequent theme carried by the publication In These Times is that ownership patterns of the media are a major threat to democratic communication. In a 1991 article celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, it carried an article by civil rights lawyer David Kariys. Kariys contends "the conservative redefinition of free speech" has come to mean free speech for ordinary people has been restricted, free speech for wealthy people and corporations has been expanded, and a "free speech barrier" has been erected which prohibits public access to the media.

> TV networks and local stations as well as large newspapers--owned by fewer and fewer large corporations with less and less concern for journalism or public discourse--claim absolute protection not only from government censorship (protection that is certainly appropriate), but also from any claims to access by the people. Although these media corporations monopolize the marketplace of ideas, the courts tend to protect them against demands for popular access, as if the major media were merely individuals handing out leaflets on a street corner.
>
> This has occurred even as the content of our media has degenerated. When pressed, corporate standard bearers of free speech acknowledge their avoidance of ideas or controversy. They deny the limited rights to access,, such as a right to reply, that are common in Western Europe, and that would improve quality and audience interest as well as enhance democracy. In short, current conditions require that a much broader range of people and ideas should gain access to our media (Kariys, 1991, p. 13).

Political Pressures

Pressure on the media can be exerted at the political level as well, even though this may also be through the role of media managers operating in what seems to be their own self-interest. In a 1986 editorial entitled "Monolithic Media," The Nation expressed concern about the way in which the major media seem to be supporting a national consensus. Fears are expressed that timid media may be the result of right-wing pressure groups, the business interests of the media, or just the desire to avoid controversy.

> What is amazing in this country is the speed and the enthusiasm with which the national media adopt official

> values and promote the consensus almost before it is put forth by authorities. Whether the issue is terrorism, drugs, the Statue of Liberty, Nicaragua, Libya or the Philippines, there is an urgent imperative to spout the line. It is almost impossible to find significant, principled dissent in the mainstream press and on the networks at anywhere near the quality and quantity that was common during the time of the Vietnam War and Watergate.
>
> Perhaps the paranoid projects of AIM and the other right-wing and neoconservative lobbies have eroded the tradition of independent reportage. Perhaps the rewards for conformity are too great to turn down, or the support system for dissent too weak to offer an alternative to the institutions that engineer consent. The disintegration of the radical movements of the past decades removed an important test for the accuracy of official reports on every subject. Journalists and newscasters now can, and do, call anyone a Marxist-Leninist, a terrorist or a freedom fighter without fear of effective contradiction, at least in the mass media...
>
> What we need is not a private group to monitor ideology--right or left--in the media, but a new consciousness about consensus, and more questions about the official story (The Nation, 1986, p. 196).

It is common to find concern about dominant economic, political and social influences upon the press from such sources as Columbia Journalism Review, Washington Journalism Review, St. Louis Journalism Review, The Nation, Mother Jones, In These Times, Lies of Our Times, Propaganda Review, Project Censored and Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting. The National Coalition Against Censorship gets involved in cases which result in overt acts of censorship.

Such organizations as Center for Media and Values, Media Network, National Council of Churches of Christ, and the United Church of Christ are particularly concerned that the media represent the interests of those who have little "voice" in society generally.

Organizations which set up an independent system of access to the media to combat this problem include The Media Network and National Federation of Local Cable Programmers. Viewers for Quality

Television seek to counter television's rating system in an effort to bolster programs which its members consider quality television.

A Liberty Lobby tabloid, The Spotlight, follows its own agenda in pointing out major stories missed by "the establishment media" because of the media's conformity to government or business leadership.

Concerns About Advertising

Most concerns about advertising deal with specific products, principally tobacco, alcohol, and toys of violence. Among organizations concerned at this level are: American Lung Association, Americans for NonSmokers Rights, Beer Drinkers of America (protecting alcohol advertising), and several of the religious organizations.

Other organizations are principally concerned about advertising directed at children. These include: Action for Children's Television, Parent-Teachers Association and many of the media literacy groups.

Broader attacks on the commercialism in our culture are the focus for The Media Foundation of Canada (ADbusters), Center for the Study of Commercialism and the closely related Center for Science in the Public Interest, and In These Times.

An expression of this latter view appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, co-authored by Michael F. Jacobson, executive director for the Center for Science in the Public Interest:

> Today's marketers promote artificial and obsessional wants, urge ceaseless spending, foster a disposable society; and inject commercialism into every facet of our lives. All of this treads on our moral and civic tradition like a bulldozer in a flower garden...
>
> All but forgotten in this "buy till you die" era are certain key American principles. There is the

> longstanding American ideal of simple and honest living, of moderation in the marketplace. Frugality was a key word in the founders' civic vocabulary. It also became an essential component of the lifestyle of those who experienced and learned from the lessons of the Great Depression (Collins and Jacobson, 1990).

Media Research/Professional Interchange/Media Literacy

A number of groups seek improvement in the mass media through research studies, through interaction between media professionals and academic scholars, through media literacy training in schools, and through other resources which make children or adults more knowledgeable about the media.

Among such groups are Assembly on Media Arts; Center for Media and Values; Center for War, Peace and the News Media; Environmental Media Association, Media Action Research Center; National Federation of Press Women; National Council for Families & Television; National Telemedia Council; Parent's Choice; Telecommunications Research and Action Center; and Women and Language.

Typical of an organization which is trying to promote interaction between communications professionals and another key community is the Environmental Action Association.

Its goals include encouraging the Hollywood creative community to combat the environmental crisis through their work, educational forums to increase their understanding of environmental issues, service as a clearinghouse for environmental information, establishment of an awards program to recognize quality film and TV programs which explore environmental themes, communications assistance to environmental experts, and creation of "a global network of similar organizations harnessing the power of the media for the environment."

Media literacy encourages children and other consumers to pay attention to the format of television programs, the values and ideologies carried by each program, and analysis to determine if there are differences between the messages intended by the program and the messages received by the viewer.

Violence in Entertainment

Several groups are primarily concerned about the amount of violence which takes place in entertainment shows, particularly those viewed by children. Sharing such concerns are Canadians Concerned About Violence, American Family Association, American Academy of Pediatricians, Action for Children's Television, Parent-Teacher Association, Stop War Toys, TV Tune-in USA and Women in Communication.

Most of these groups appeal to the television industry to correct excess or glamorized violence in programming. The American Family Association encourages its members to boycott advertisers of programs with a high violence content, but such moves have been countered by groups like Action for Children's Television, which maintains "the way to improve children's television is to increase viewing options for children, not narrow them" (ACT, 1983).

Media and the Political Process

Of prime concern to a number of organizations is the way the mass media are used in modern election campaigns, principally through political advertising, to avoid real issues. Organizations sharing such concerns include the League of Women Voters, Center for Public Integrity, Center for Media and Public Affairs, and Project Vote Smart.

The League of Women Voters has this to say about negative campaigning:

> This is perhaps the problem most clearly visible to the average voter: television, newspaper and direct mail advertising with virtually no information, but plenty of mudslinging, distortion and even outright lies. Denied the factual information we need to cast an intelligent ballot, our precious right to vote is degraded and becomes a tragic joke (League of Women Voters, 1992).

Media Self-Criticism

Perhaps best known to journalists are several publications, institutions and groups which are devoted to media self-criticism. This includes three journalism reviews, Columbia Journalism Review, Washington Journalism Review, and St. Louis Journalism Review. The now defunct FineLine was devoted to a self-examination of journalism ethics.

Times Mirror sponsors public opinion polls which reflect current attitudes about media performance. The Freedom Foundation has established a center at Columbia University in which scholars and media professionals analyze topics of importance to the industry, including the relationships between mass media and their publics.

MEDIA WATCHER TACTICS

For a discussion of tactics, it is helpful to use several broad categories to describe the media watcher groups. These include: The Political Right, The Religious Right, The Political Left, Media Literacy or Media Awareness Groups, and Constituency Groups built around a single focus. This section will discuscs the tactics employed by the first four of these groups.

There are several general topics affecting the vast majority of media watcher groups. The first approach to a perceived flaw in the media is publicity. For many publications involved, this is as far as it gets. For other groups the next step is consciousness-raising among their constituencies, moving them from awareness of the issue to latent readiness to take action.

Action first occur when the media watcher groups makes a complaint to the media. A few groups add more weight to their complaint by mobilizing their constituencies to individually file complaints, largely through organized postcard-type mailings or flooding a target's 800 number or chief executive with phone calls. A popular tactic is this regard is to target advertisers whose ads appear in programs or publications which are found to be offensive, pressuring the advertiser to withdraw sponsorship of such material. A few militant organizations resort to such actions as boycotts, demonstrations, or other direct confrontational tactics.

Governmental action is also a focal point of many media watcher groups. This may involve passing or defeating legislation, increasing or eliminating regulations on communications enterprises, or using governmental clout in a "jawboning" form which expresses governmental approval or disapproval of a certain form of action.

A small number of groups rely chiefly upon making the "consumers" of mass media more knowledgeable and more selective in their choices. This is probably the least controversial of all media watcher tactics.

The Political Right

Each issue of Accuracy in Media's AIM Report contains two or three pre-printed postcards for readers to express their outrage to parties who could right the "wrongs" cited in that issue. Likely targets for the postcards are: Chairman of the board, General Electric Company (parent of NBC) or National Broadcasting Company; chairman of the board, Capital Cities/ABC Inc.; president, CBS News; executive editor, New York Times; chairman, Turner Broadcasting System; or president, Public Broadcasting Service. In a few instances, advertisers of offending programs (60 Minutes) are alerted to abuses. Unlike similar tactics employed by AFA against advertisers, AIM rarely claims success as a result of such a mass-mailing tactic.

One of AIM's latest targets is National Public Radio. After the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings, AIM sent the following postcard for subscribers of the AIM Report to send to their congressmen:

> I am deeply concerned about the irresponsible conduct of public broadcasting. National Public Radio's collaboration with the leaker of Anita Hill's confidential affidavit was an act of unethical arrogance. NPR overruled the judgment of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate leadership that Hill's charges were unprovable and should not be allowed to muddy the Thomas confirmation. The hearings validated that judgment, but at great cost to everyone involved. Before Congress votes any new funds for NPR and PBS, it must hold hearings on how these organizations can be purged of the kind of partisanship they now display. Please tell me what you plan to do about this (AIM, 1991).

In March, 1992, AIM announced a computerized bulletin board service, AIM Net, linking 15 organizations. The bulletin board permits each organization to publicize seminars and other events, exchange information, communicate with their memberships, and exchange publications. Joining AIM and its affiliates (Accuracy in Academia; Center for Public Policy Research; and the Council for the Defense of Freedom, which publishes the Washington Inquirer) were: American

Legislative Exchange Council, Rob Brooks and Associates, Center for Individual Rights, Citizens for a Sound Economy, Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Conservative Caucus Foundation, Conservative Network, Conservative Think Tank, Eagle Forum, High Frontier, Human Events, Parents' Music Resource Center, Putting People First, and Selous Foundation (Washington Inquirer, 1992, p. 4).

The Media Research Center of Alexandria, Va., uses a broad-based approach to media criticism. It publishes two monthly newsletters, MediaWatch and TV,etc., and a biweekly humor piece, Notable Quotables, which compiles the most outrageous and humorous examples of what it considers media bias. MediaWatch reviews news coverage of politics and current events by television networks, major newspapers and news weeklies. TV,etc. focuses on the liberal agenda in television and movie entertainment, including the off-screen political activities of the political left.

The center also gives booby prize awards. It commissioned a 20-member panel, including journalists, to judge entries for the organization's annual "Linda Ellerbee Awards for Distinguished Reporting." The winners are those journalists who have been found to have "uttered the most meaningless, inane, unsubstantiated and/or ridiculous statements" during the past year. MediaWatch gives a monthly "Janet Cooke Award" to what it considers the month's most distorted story. TV,etc. awards a monthly "Geraldo" to "the most outrageous example of sensationalism and/or factual distortion by those in the entertainment industry" (Insight, 1990, p. 56).

The Media Research Center has also published two recent books, And That's The Way It Isn't: A Reference Guide to Media Bias, and The Revolving Door: The Connections Between the Media and Politics. The later is a compilation of the MediaWatch feature, "Revolving Door," which follows careers of journalists in and out of government staff positions.

The Center for Media and Public Affairs has added a new book to go with its influential The Media Elite: America's New Power Brokers. It is Watching America: What TV Tells Us About Our Lives. The Center's current findings are published in Media Monitor, a newsletter which appears 10 times a year.

Between the Lines relies largely on publicity to get its message across. Its editor, Joseph Farah, is widely quoted in other conservative publications because he has the background of a newspaper editor. Farah recently expanded his influence by purchasing New Dimensions magazine.

The publication on the political right with the largest circulation is The Spotlight, which claims 200,000 circulation. The Spotlight received a burst of media attention when two of the top ten stories in the 1990 Project Censored competition were published in The Liberty Lobby newspaper. Typically, it claims that its exclusive stories are overlooked in journalistic competitions such as the Pulitzer Prizes.

The two "censored" stories (largely ignored by the establishment media) were Don Markey's "Saddam was Bushwhacked on Invasion," in the October 8 issue and two related articles by Mike Blair entitled "Repressive Gingrich Bill: Dangerous Attack on Rights"

(August 6) and "Danger to the Bill of Rights" (October 8). Yet, Liberty Lobby's Vince Ryan, chairman of its Board of Policy, believes the publication's greatest running story continued to be passed over.

> We are pleased and excited about the citation from Project Censored, but the biggest ongoing censored story since 1954 has been the top-secret meetings of the Bilderberg group--those elitist movers and shakers of the Western world who meet yearly to map out our destiny.
>
> Now the Establishment media know about these meetings. In fact, top executives, editors and reporters from it are always in attendance at the conclaves. Yet nary a word do they write about what they saw or heard (Ryan, 1991, p. 4).

In 1988 The Spotlight published a special section: "An In-Depth Look at Who Controls the Media." It published the names of owners, news executives or major reporters or newscasters who it said were members of either the Council on Foreign Relations or the Trilateral Commission. It also listed all of the local outlets of major media chains under a headline: "Is Your Newspaper Independent or Group Owned?" (The Spotlight, January 25, 1988, pp. 13-20).

The Media Institute is essentially a public policy think tank. In 1988 it published Moscow Meets Main Streets: Changing Journalistic Values and the Growing Soviet Presence on American Television by Dr. Ted J. Smith III. Professor Smith describes the cultural relativism of the media, in which one set of values is considered as good as another. The book shows how TV networks have been increasingly receptive to the Soviet point of view.

In the book, Professor Smith observes:

> The emergence of skeptical objectivity as a guiding ideal also clarifies the sense in which journalists have become excessively powerful: At the extreme, their power is the ability to destroy culture. But already the stance has had a profound and negative impact. Perhaps its most important effect has been the transformation of the American political system from a consensus democracy,

> with its values of compromise and moderation, to a bastardized form of conflict democracy, in which journalists constitute a sort of permanent opposition, but with no felt responsibility for suggesting workable alternatives. Or again, the dominant focus on error and failure, combined with a willingness to provide an open forum for attacks from our adversaries, now makes it impossible in practice for the United States to use military force, at least as applied over an extended period of time, to achieve its objectives (Smith, 1988, pp. 128-129).

The Committee on Media Integrity publishes a quarterly newsletter COMINT which targets what it considers the liberal bias of the Public Broadcasting System. This cause took on special significance in 1992 when government funding of public broadcasting was under attack by some conservatives.

COMINT has three recommendations:

> (1) Make all subscribers to public television stations members of the corporation that operates the station. Make all public television boards elected by the members.
>
> (2) Establish a clear and coherent policy of balance and fairness in programming at each local station, including adherence to journalistic standards of objectivity in reporting.
>
> (3) Establish a paid position of Ombudsman responsible for implementing the policy of fairness and balance. Have the Ombudsman report to a committee of the board, which will meet regularly and concern itself with the objectivity, balance and fairness of programming. Give the Ombudsman the power to control enough air time to provide reasonable means of redress when biased or inaccurate reporting or unbalanced reporting occurs (COMINT, 1991, p. 3).

The Religious Right

Since 1983 American Family Association (AFA) has videotaped every minute of prime-time programming (365 days a year) aired on ABC, CBS and NBC. But it was a Saturday morning children's program, videotaped by a mother in Kentucky, that gave Wildmon an opportunity to triumph over his critics (Wildmon, 1989).

In the children's show, Mighty Mouse was depressed about his love life. At a campfire, he pulled a powdery looking substance out from under his cape, and sniffed it up his nose. The depression soon disappeared and he was back to his usual, heroic self. When Wildmon asked CBS for an explanation, the vice president for program practice first said Mighty Mouse was simply enjoying the smell of his lucky chunk of cheese. Unfortunately, the creator of Mighty Mouse's animation said the character was sniffing a handful of crushed flowers. CBS refused to release its own videotape of the program, so the news media had to get one from Wildmon. Ultimately, CBS fired its vice president for program practices to end the criticism it was getting from Congressmen, sponsors and affiliates about the incident.

Wildmon has expanded its television monitoring beyond the ranks of AFA by helping to create CLeaR-TV, Christian Leaders for Responsible Television. CLeaR-TV is a coalition of approximately 1600 Christian leaders, including the heads of 70 denominations (AFA Journal, January 1992, p. 4). CLeaR-TV coordinates boycotts against sponsors of primetime programming which features sex, violence or profanity. Wildmon takes pride in an otherwise unflattering account of his work in Current Biographies that states: "Wildom probably exerts greater influence over network television programming and its sponsors than anyone outside the television industry itself" (AFA Journal, February 1992, p. 2).

AFA, which distributes its monthly newsletter to 400,000 people, promoted in 1992 a boycott of Kmart because its affiliate, Waldenbooks, is a leading seller of Playboy and Penthouse magazines.

It also boycotted Holiday Inn for making X-rated movies available to its guests, and attempted to keep advertisers from sponsoring any television episode which gave favorable treatment to homosexuals.

The Religious Right is willing to work through government on such issues as pornography. Dr. James Dobson, Focus on the Family, was a member of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography in 1985, and the religious organizations under study have regularly advocated vigorous enforcement and expansion of anti-pornography laws. To a lesser degree, governmental remedies have been sought against television violence.

When dealing with the news media, these groups take two approaches. The first is to build up a strong network of religious publications, radio stations and television programming to directly communicate with their audiences. Scandals have diminished the importance of television evangelists, but radio programs like Dobson's "Focus on the Family" are popular on a large number of Christian stations. In February 1992, American Family Association set up a one-hour satellite broadcast on 40 Florida Christian radio stations on a move to add "sexual orientation" to the state civil rights bill. AFA estimates that Florida's legislators received between 40,000 to 50,000 phone calls protesting the change (AFA of Florida, 1992, p. 2).

The second strategy is to work cooperatively with the news media to provide the religious groups' perspective on public issues. Concerned Women of America, operating out of Washington, D.C., has been particularly effective in this regard.

The January/February 1992 MIM newsletter identified President George Bush as its "Target of the Month."

> Unbelievable! At a time of advancing decadence in America where the sexual abuse of children has become commonplace; where sadomasochism and the depredation of women on videotapes have become living room entertainment; when human dignity is scoffed at while barbarism is defended, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has decided to target President Bush and Congress, calling for the abolition of the U.S. Justice Department's Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section...
>
> As the ACLU has targeted the President, so must we. Write, please, to President George Bush, and tell him in your own words that his continued support of the Justice Department's Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section is vital in order to defuse the explosion of obscene materials throughout America...And please, send a copy of your letter to us at Morality in Media (MIM, 1992, p. 3).

The Political Left

People for American Way has 277,000 members who are interested in combatting the abuses of the Religious Right. It is the largest membership organization on the political left.

In 1991 People for the American Way launched a counter attack to the CLeaR-TV boycott directed at Pfizer Corporation and S.C. Johnson & Sons, Inc.

> PEOPLE FOR is working to expose (Donald) Wildmon's censorship crusade and challenge his credibility. A recent PEOPLE FOR full-page ad in Variety urged studio executives to call Wildmon's bluff, not cave in to unproven claims of clout with America's consumers. PEOPLE FOR is launching a major counter-campaign to challenge Wildmon's most recent boycott campaign, aimed at TV sponsors Pfizer and Johnson (PFAW, Forum, 1991, p. 2).

The People For postcards addressed to the two advertisers carry the message: "As an American citizen deeply concerned about freedom of expression, I urge you to resist the boycott threats of Don Wildmon and his censorship campaign. You have our support. Hang in there."

People for the American Way began to express financial concerns in recent months. It reported in a 1992 fund-raising letter that it was finding foundation support waning as it takes controversial stands on such public issues as the Clarence Thomas hearings, opposition to Sen. Jesse Helm's censorship campaign aimed at the National Endowment of the Arts, and other issues.

> Even though members like you provide over 80 percent of our funding, we depend on an even broader base of support (foundations, businesses, unions and special events) to keep our organization running...
>
> Because we have become too "public" for some foundations--and because we resist the temptation to remain "unobtrusive" just to attract financial support--it will be difficult to reach our million dollar foundation goal in 1992 (PFAW, 1992).

The Nation, like many other commentators on the political left, used its opposition to the Persian Gulf War as an illustration of how it serves as a check on the establishment media. Appealing for donations from its readers, the publication's support group praised its role as an anti-establishment voice.

> As you may have noticed, when a country goes to war so does its press: Conformity of opinion, self-censorship, amplification of the official line and deference to the establishment's certified experts are the order of the day...
>
> (A)t a time when there is said to be a national consensus on (the war), your support can help The Nation play its unique role in questioning that consensus: we provide alternative perspectives, independent analyses and information absent from the mainstream media (The Nation Associates, 1991).

The magazine Mother Jones also picks up the perspective of a subservient, consensual society as a problem facing the nation. It criticizes Congress and the press for not providing stronger opposition to Republican administration policies. In an article entitled "Mimic Men," Mother Jones summarizes: "Congressional Democrats--and the press--learn from the president how to achieve darkness."

> That's one more reason (U.S.'s unnecessary defense buildup to match Soviet Union) why the emergence of an

> invertebrate press corps is so troubling. There have been several unsparing diagnoses of the press lately, such as Noam Chomsky's analysis of our institutional ailments in Manufacturing Consent; and Mark Hertsgaard's look at our collective cowardice in On Bended Knee. None of the deplorable trends noted by these critics in either print or broadcast journalism is new--they're just getting worse.
>
> The most disturbing development among the Washington press corps is a collective amnesia about the purpose of a newspaper--which is to gather news. The mortal sins of the press have always been our sins of omission, not our sins of commission, no matter what you may have heard about bias, hubris, or anything else. It is the stories we don't get, the ones we miss, pass over, fail to recognize, don't pick up on, that will send us to hell. The list of what we missed during the Reagan years includes everything that mattered--we missed Iran-Contra, HUD, S&Ls, and the entire game plan until David Stockman told us what it was. And then we sat around criticizing Stockman for tattle-tale (Ives, 1990, pp. 9,57).

Project Censored is a project to detect major stories which the media missed or underreported. Its "sins of omission" emphasis seems to place it philosophically among media critics on the political left.

Project Censored Director Carl Jensen, in explaining the philosophy behind the project, states:

> I would suggest that a systematic omission of news about significant issues in our major news media has led to a dangerously distorted picture of America in the late 20th Century. This false picture of society, while perhaps reassuring or even desired by an elite group in our society, represents a festering sore that must be treated if we are to survive as a nation...
>
> In societies perceived as free, we find the information output determined by economic pressures to produce corporate profits, by a systematic distribution of "punishment and reward" to workers in the media, and by a less obvious, but nonetheless effective, control of the means of production of the information industry. This latter is well-documented in Ben Bagdikian's book, The Media Monopoly (Jensen, 1991, p. 9).

Other groups described as single-issue constituency groups also have tactics which oppose some of the campaigns of the political right and religious right.

Media Literacy

Some watchdog groups concentrate on preparing audiences to cope with the language of the media in a way that produces understanding rather than blind accommodation. A major goal of such groups is the introduction of "media literacy" instruction in schools.

> It takes concentration to make sense of contemporary television. Narratives are broken by commercials, flying graphics, rolls and crawls, fast cuts, and fades to black. Students may not have the vocabulary to articulate to adults how they make a story out of this hodge-podge of images, but on a rudimentary level, they already have a firm grasp on the grammar of television.
>
> In order for them to be fully aware that television is carefully constructed with specific codes and conventions, someone has to talk to them about the way TV works. Television has become the communication form of choice, so teachers are beginning to extend their definition of literacy to include electronic forms of communication. They are teaching their students to read TV (Tyner, 1992, p. 3).

The Center for Media and Values describes itself as "the leading resource center for media literacy education." Its resources are directed at the following concerns: The relationship between the media and addictive substances, myths and claims behind cigarette and alcohol advertising, how the media influence real life male-female relationships, why men dominate VCRS and remote controls, how the fine line between news and entertainment has been eroded, why true impartiality is impossible in news reporting, production techniques used to make contrived events "look real," and similar topics (Center for Media & Values, 1992 Catalog).

All of the resources are designed to help people become selective and aware media users. The Center seeks to replace the "censorship model" of influencing media content with "an exciting alternative--changing the way (the media) are interpreted. Individuals, families, and groups who understand how messages work can control their effects themselves" (Media & Values, 1992, p. 8).

Media literacy does not preclude direct action, however, The Center for Media and Values also recommends taking advantage of talk shows and other access points in the media, challenging media licenses, use of alternative media, promoting public access channels, meeting with editors, and other types of actions which may influence media content without resort to boycotts or censorship.

Media literacy resources, training programs and citizen groups are expanding, but it is difficult to assess their direct affect upon the mass media. This form of media watching is probably less evident in mass media newsrooms and production studios than the more overt efforts of media bashing.

RESULTS OF MEDIA WATCHER ACTIVITY

The results reported by media watcher groups are analyzed in four broad categories. (1) Media Recognition of the Problem, (2) Creating Awareness among Constituency Groups, (3) Enforced Change through Outside Pressure, and (4) Power Shifts within Media.

Media Recognition of Problem

Creating media self-correction through awareness of a problem is the objective of many groups cited in this study. This is the recourse sought by virtually all publications, which lack organized constituencies that might take follow-up action. It is also the goal of many single-interest constituencies which see their group as victims of some sort of media neglect, abuse or misunderstanding. Such groups essentially seek recognition of their group's identity, value and needs from the media.

How do media style sheets deal with racial identifications? For instance, if racial identification is important to the story, will the term used be "Negro," "black" or "Black," or "African-American"? Groups signify their preference. Is "pro-choice" and "anti-abortion" used or "pro-life" and "pro-abortion"? Are stereotypes avoided? Are there other associations which journalists or script writers should avoid, such as singling out Vietnam veterans in stories about mentally disturbed criminal behavior?

This may not be a highly touted result of media watcher activity, but most groups can report successes in this sphere.

Awareness Among Constituency Groups

Increased awareness or information gain among their constituencies is also a major result sought by many of the groups listed in this study's directory. In most cases such needs are met through a form of collective consciousness-raising. All media watchers follow this practice, and it's the form of public criticism with which the media feel most comfortable.

To some extent, the communication directed at enlisting and informing constituency groups becomes a form of the partisan press. The audiences select publications or membership groups which conform to their existing beliefs, and the result is the strengthening and empowering of those beliefs. Rather than mitigating differences of opinion, such action actually solidifies such differences and identifies enemies to those positions.

This partisanship makes accommodation between contending groups much more difficult in the marketplace of ideas. While such partisan activities may not result in direct action to change the mass media, they do create an environment in which it is very difficult for the mass media to deal with controversial subjects without drawing some organized form of criticism. Research has shown that such direct mail coalitions are more uncompromising than other political constituencies.

> In both citizen action groups and political action committees, elites who depend on direct mail are more extreme and less tolerant in their strategies and tactics. They try to keep high profiles and to utilize the media to keep their issues and their organizations before the public. Our comparison of elites who are more dependent upon direct marketing with their counterparts whose resources come largely from other sources show clearly that the former are much more vulnerable to changes in public opinion. Because of this, it is no accident that the largest ideological PACs are the most extreme in their strategies and statements. Moderation reduces resources. This pursuit of uncompromising tactics is changing the nature of American politics at the elite level (Godwin, 1988, p. 96).

Enforced Change Through Outside Pressure

Government Intervention

Some groups seek government intervention to curb what they consider to be abuses or deficiencies in the mass media.

The First Amendment bars many forms of governmental action, but there is some pending legislation which media watcher organizations are advocating.

The last major piece of successful legislation promoted by media watcher groups was the Children's Television Act of 1990. After helping to secure passage of this legislation, Action for Children's Television is folding up.

Focus on the Family is backing the Pornography Victims Compensation Act, which permits a civil suit against producers and purveyors of the material by victims of violent and abusive sex acts. (FOF Family Policy, 1991). At this point the act has been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee with some limiting amendments.

COMINT sought to change the organizational structure of PBS, while other conservative groups advocated stripping away its federal funding. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting survived its budget scare in 1992, but its appropriation was linked with language which will force PBS stations to be more leary of controversial programming in the future. This is particularly true for programming which may upset political or religious conservatives.

Further regulation of cigarette and alcohol advertising is supported by several groups, but there appears no immediate action in this regard.

Direct Pressure on the Media

Those media watcher groups which see the media as a powerful, unresponsive special interest often resort to outside, nongovernmental pressure to achieve their objectives.

The greatest amount of citizen activism seems to be concentrated in this area. Focus on the Family, Concerned Women of America, American Family Association, and Morality in Media on the religious right all have large constituencies. American Family Association has been effective in using boycotts, barrages of postcards, and personal visits to advertising sponsors to cause cancellations of advertising in programs targeted as offensive. The economic loss involved is beginning to trouble the networks. On the other side, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation and similar groups are using moral suasion and confrontational tactics to gain more favorable treatment of their sexual orientation in the media. This appears to be a major battle ground for the 1990s.

The main bulwark of the political left is a series of articulate publications. Publications are effective in monitoring what is happening and in jawboning the media or the government about perceived abuses. However, publications typically lack the "implementing information" (postcards, petitions, boycott pledges) that is contained in direct mail. What appears to be developing is a one-sided battle in which conservative organizations are mobilizing for action while their principal opposition, liberal publications, is merely signaling alarm.

Power Shifts Within Mass Media

Some media watchdog groups are actually defenders of an independent "watchdog" media. They see threats to this "watchdog" role coming not only from government but also from the business offices of the mass media themselves.

While news media self-criticism vehicles may not necessarily be ideologically linked with the political left, both groups are concerned about this form of First Amendment intrusion. This makes the journalism reviews appear as if they are aligned with those who are espousing a more radical agenda. The possible exception may be the extent to which liberal groups express their distrust of media management.

Particularly in a time of economic recession, such criticism seems to be having little effect upon the mass media. There seems to be no trend in which media owners and managers are giving editorial staffs more independence from the business interests of the news media.

Current media managers are more likely to instruct editors to follow paths which will please subscribers, save money, and do not disturb advertisers. The goal of a fiercely independent, hard-hitting, watchdog role for our news media may be an unaffordable ideal under current economic circumstances.

CONCLUSIONS

Media watcher groups follow two broad strategies. One is to bring about change in the content or operation of the mass media. The other is to build constituency groups which rally around what is essentially an alternative, partisan press.

In terms of bringing about changes in the mass media, consciousness-raising on the part of such groups to make journalists and script writers aware of their concerns is likely to be the most viable option for public "conversation" with the media. Problems of media stereotyping or misrepresentation are easily handled and nonthreatening to media decision makers.

On the other hand, the media may feel threatened by the next most promising tactic employed by media watchers--nongovernmental pressure, particularly upon advertisers. Economic pressures and the resulting new marketing concern about the sensitivities of organized interest groups are bringing about a division among media leaders.

The audience sensitivity brought about by these outside pressures on the news media is reflected in the 1992 presidential address at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention by David Lawrence, publisher and chairman of the Miami Herald.

Picking up on the matter of "diversity," a term usually associated with the concerns of women and minority groups, Lawrence said:

> Diversity is at the soul of what we are all about. Diversity reflects the evolution of the larger society, in which almost one in four of us is a member of a minority. Diversity represents our commitment to our own professed ideals and beliefs. Diversity makes our newspapers more relevant, more compelling, more essential to **everyone**. Genuine pluralism within our staffs and managements cannot occur unless you and I, and the others in charge, absolutely **insist** on change...
>
> Diversity is surely a matter of age and gender and race and national origin and faith and sexual orientation. But we should remember that it is also people with families, people who pray, people with kids in school, people who fight for the environment, people who handle hammers, people who drive trucks, people who prepare food, people with power and people without, people with means and people without. We need to care about, be excited by, and be vulnerable to some of the same things our readers are (Lawrence, 1992, p. 8).

Lawrence continues with a recommended course of action:

> Every encounter with readers--spoken or written--deserves a prompt, full, thoughtful reply. That, I know, will never be achieved without a very different atmosphere in most American newsrooms. We need to be so responsive that when people have dealings with us, even--and sometimes especially so--on those occasions when they are angry, they nonetheless feel compelled to say, "At least they listened. They seem to be fair people. They seemed to really care." That, my friends, is no radical step; it is simple common decency--and smart business (Lawrence, 1992, p. 9).

Lawrence's concern about the traditional "newsroom atmosphere" appears to directly contradict the view of Des Moines Register editor Geneva Overhoiser, who gained national recognition for her advocacy of publishing rape victims' names as a means of focusing society's attention on the crime.

> In answer to the agrument that disclosure should be the woman's choice, (Overhoiser) exclaimed: "Ha! If American newspapers were edited by sources' choices... they would make Swiss cheese look solid..."
>
> Quipping that the goal of newspapers today seems to be to print "All the News that Doesn't Displease Anyone," Overhoiser went on: "We have this notion that we must make sure that no one suffers. That is not the newspaper editor's role...It is to make sure that the truth is told, that word goes out, that the whole picture is presented. Have we not learned, on the road to adulthood, that sometimes truthfulness and candor and forthrightness have their victims?
>
> "Newspapers should learn to live with complaints as part of the publishing business," said Overhoiser, a former member of the New York Times editorial board...
>
> "How prissy we are, safeguarding the public standards," she remarked. "How wrong a role for us. How worried we are that someone might find us arrogant. How fearful we might offend someone" (Stein, 1992).

While the contrast between Lawrence and Overhoiser may not be as sharp as these selected quotations would imply, the two points of view do seem to reflect internal struggles within newsrooms and studios throughout the nation. Media watchers would undoubtedly side with Lawrence, at least as far as their own agendas are concerned. However, it is obvious that many of them would prefer Overhoiser's hard-headed approach when journalists confront those who oppose that particular interest group's views.

To some extent opponents on a number of issues are using the mass media as a battleground. It is impossible for these raging battles over media practices to occur without wounds being inflicted. Lawrence recommends policies which seek to disarm incoming flak with compassion and decency. Overhoiser urges an attitude which deflects incoming flak with a bullet-proof shield of independence.

Most media watcher groups were formed in response to Overhoiser-like media behavior. Granted, true believers at the core of such groups will not be satisfied with anything less than full mass media acceptance of their positions. On the other hand, responsiveness goes a long way toward disarming passion. Those in charge of mass media news and programming should be aware that the public expects as much commitment to "The Right to be Heard" as they do to "The Right to Know."

Media watcher groups would find it more difficult to gain new adherents to their cause if Lawrence's response of respect and empathy were the standard reaction to complaints, real or imagined, by vocal elements of our society.

To the extent that media watcher groups seek to modify the behavior of media audiences rather than to change the media themselves, they may be perceived as less of a threat. Media literacy training, for instance, is not necessarily advocacy for media change, although in most instances such training carries with it an agenda. It is an easy step from "understanding" practices which one finds reprehensible to participating in such movements as restricting cigarette or alcohol advertising, altering current election campaign strategies, or lessening the economic dependence of the media upon advertising or corporate sponsorship.

# # #

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MEDIA WATCHER DIRECTORY
August 1992

Accuracy In Media
1275 K Street N.W
Suite 1150
Washington, D.C. 20005

Accuracy In Media, headed by Reed Irvine, has spent 21 years fighting what it considers liberal bias in the national news media. It investigates complaints of serious media misdeeds, takes proven cases to the top officials of media organizations asking for corrections, publicizes the most serious cases and mobilizes public pressure to bring about remedial action, and calls for the media to adopt higher standards of reporting and editing.

Accuracy in Media publishes the newsletter AIM twice a month. It distributes a weekly column by Irvine which is carried as an opinion piece my many news media. It also airs a five-day-a-week radio commentary, "Media Monitor," on many radio stations across the nation.

It encourages its readers and listeners to contact TV advertisers, government officials, or media officials about items which it is disturbed about. It distributes books and videotapes which question the liberal bias of the media.

AIM representatives also attend the shareholder meetings of several large media corporations to critique their performance. They also regularly appear on radio and TV talk shows to tell about the media errors and distortions which AIM has discovered.

Action for Children's Television
20 University Road
Cambridge, MA 02138

Action for Children's Television is scheduled for termination by the end of 1992 after 23 years of seeking to have public interest laws which govern broadcasting applied to children. It achieved this goal with the passage of the Children's Television Act of 1990.

"People who want better TV for kids now have Congress on their side and a mechanism for making sure that local stations obey the law," says Peggy Charren, president.

ACT is closing by making a donation to the Harvard Graduate School of Education, which will sponsor an annual ACT lecture on children and media. The school will also establish an ACT fellowship for doctoral students doing research in the field.

Peggy Charren, founder and president of ACT, concedes that while ACT is ending its active role in making television a positive force for children its goal is far from accomplished, particularly on commercial television. She advocates citizen action to keep governmental pressure on broadcasters.

She comments: "Will the Children's Television Act begin to make commercial television feel a little more like PBS? I think it will, if and only if audiences take seriously the need to remind local stations that their license renewal depends on meeting their obligation to children. The act gives parents, educators, pediatricians--anyone who cares about young people--the muscle needed to get broadcasters to pay attention to children. And groups like the national P.T.A. have served notice that they're on the watch: broadcasters beware!..

"Perhaps Americans will only begin to realize that the television set isn't the only box with the power to change their lives, that even more important is the ballot box. If ACT proved anything in its 23 years, it's that when Washington talks, broadcasters listen. That's where we can all make our voices heard to make this country work for children. I can't think of a group more deserving of our action."

ADBUSTERS: See The Media Foundation

American Academy of Pediatricians
141 Northwest Point Blvd.
P.O. Box 927
Elk Grove Village, IL 60009-0927

The American Academy of Pediatricians supports legislative efforts to improve children's programming content and promote more constructive viewing. It is concerned that long-time television viewing is one cause of violent and aggressive behavior in children and also contributes substantially to obesity. TV can detract from time spent reading or using other active learning skills. AAP believes young children cannot distinguish between programs and commercials and don't understand that commercials are designed to sell products. It contends television conveys unrealistic messages regarding drugs, alcohol and tobacco, and portrays misleading sex roles and unrealistic sexuality.

AAP has utilized a public service announcement to combat TV-addicted "couch potatoes," and has issued policy statements on music lyrics and videos.

Pediatrician Dr. Victor Strasburger notes there is a difference between music videos and rock music. "MTV is a jazzed-up version of television, with all the elements of sex and violence combined with singing. Sometimes it becomes counter-productive--like Madonna's 'Papa Don't Preach.' Here we sit in an epidemic of teen pregnancy and this immensely popular singer says it's okay--even desirable--for kids to have babies" (AAP news release, 5/11/87).

Although the AAP strongly opposes censorship, it wants to see the music industry exercise good taste and self-restraint in what is produced, especially because some rock music lyrics communicate potentially harmful health messages.

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
4201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20008

ADC is the largest Arab-American organization in the U.S. It is a non-sectarian, non-partisan service organization dedicated to the promotion of the civil and legal rights of people of Arab descent, including resistance to racism, discrimination, and stereotyping of Arab-Americans. ADC has over 25,000 members organized into 70 chapters throughout North America.

It publishes ADC Times, a bimonthly newsletter of news and opinion. The organization has published "Sex, Lies and Stereotypes," a study of the image of Arabs in American popular fiction. The organization condemns Arab stereotyping and commends accurate portrayals of Arab-Americans. It was particularly concerned with violence against Arab-Americans during the Persian Gulf War.

American Civil Liberties Union
132 West 43rd Street
New York, NY 10036

The American Civil Liberties Union is a defender of the First Amendment, but in 1992 its action plan concentrates on non-media issues: Separation of church and state, the federal "gag rule" on abortion information at federally-financed clinics, political speech which expresses unpopular beliefs, and artistic expression. It opposes free speech bans on U.S. campuses, claiming they are a "trap" which can come back to haunt minorities because they give power to campus authorities in interpreting what is free speech (Glasser, Fall 1990, p. 12).

In the past it has opposed a bill granting anti-trust exemption to the TV industry so that networks could meet to discuss the "negative" effects of television violence, opposed revocation of the "fairness doctrine" in broadcasting, opposed local community bans on "The Last Temptation of Christ," supported 2 Live Crew when its rap record "As Nasty As They Wanna Be" was banned as obscene.

American Family Association
Post Office Drawer 2440
Tupelo, MS 38803

The American Family Association (AFA) is concerned primarily with gratuitous sex, violence and profanity on radio and television. It feels the Federal Communications Commission has done extremely little over the last two decades in influencing or curbing the rampant increase in sex, violence, and profanity aired over our T.V. and radio channels. Over the past decade AFA has developed methods to influence network programming aimed at stemming the tide of sex, violence and programming on our major TV networks.

The following are suggestions from AFA to get involved with programming: (1) Approach the station manager with your concern and then a follow-up letter. (2) Contact owners of station and then send a follow-up letter. (3) Initiate a letter-writing and/or telephone campaign to the station again outlining your concern and request. (4) Monitor the program and note the advertisers. Who has most advertising time? Arrange an interview with that advertiser. Take a portable VCR and show him the edited tape. Point out your objections. Be specific. Request that he stop sponsoring the program.

AFA publishes a television sponsor guide which shows how to locate the product name from a list given, which enables you can to find the name and address of company which produces the advertised product. AFA suggests that this guide be used to compliment quality programs and to complain about offensive programs. It is advertisers who keep programs on the air. AFA encourages all viewers to exercise their right to spend money where they desire, and to notify advertisers that they can and will so exercise that right.

American Lung Association
1740 Broadway
New York, NY 10019-4374

The American Lung Association opposes tobacco advertising. It has passed a resolution asking Congress to ban tobacco advertising. In 1984 it conducted a national poll which indicated that 32 percent of Americans favored a ban on cigarette advertising and 87 percent favored a ban on cigarette smoking in the workplace.

The ALA urges physicians not to subscribe to magazines which carry cigarette advertising. It also has hosted a dinner in New York City for magazines which do not accept cigarette advertising.

Americans For Nonsmokers' Rights
2530 San Pablo Avenue, Suite J
Berkeley, CA 94702

Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights is a national lobbying and advocacy group protecting nonsmokers from involuntary smoking. It publishes a quarterly publication, ANR Update. The newsletter keeps readers up-to-date on legislation to limit tobacco advertising or increase nonsmoking education at the federal, state and local levels.

ANR also writes editorials in various newspapers like The Washington Post and The Sacramento Bee. It urges newspapers to refuse all future tobacco ads, like the Sun-Current. Teen Magazine ran an article on smoking for teenage girls with the message: "The reality is that smoking is one of the worst things you can do to your health, not to mention your appearance." ANR looks for such articles and gives them honorable mention in their seasonal updates.

Angel Awards
Mary Dorr, Producer
4055 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 310
Los Angeles, CA 90010

Angel Awards for Excellence in Media are annually presented at a banquet in Beverly Hills.

Silver Awards are given to all forms of media--motion picture, television, radio, books, albums, etc. They not only award professional excellence but also select entries which have "the most moral or spiritual or social impact."

The Gold Angel is the highest award. In 1991 Dale Evans and Roy Rogers presented the award to country singer Randy Travis. Two couples, Rhonda Fleming/Ted Mann and Jane/Bert Boeckmann were inducted into the "International Galaxy of Fame."

Anti-Defamation League (ADL)
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

ADL's programs and activities are formed to help stop prejudice, hate and anti-Semitism. It conducts an annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents and other special reports, incident update reports and press releases to various newspapers.

ADL fights people with a particular set of religious beliefs who try to use and exploit our public schools for their own purposes. It is working for prejudice reduction. ADL closely monitors skinhead gangs.

Arab American Media Society
George Khoury, Acting Director
1450 Penobscot Bldg.
Detroit, MI 48226

An inquiry letter was sent to the above organization. It was returned unopened and with no forwarding address.

Assembly on Media Arts
Robert Happ, Contact
Hempstead High School
3715 Pennsylvania Ave.
Dubuque, IA 52001

This group is a national forum for action and discussion on the teaching of media. It was founded in 1988 and is an affiliate of the National Council of Teachers of English.

Some of its goals include: to promote communication and cooperation among educators with a special interest in media and the English language arts, to present programs and workshops on media study, to coordinate exchanges between educators and the communications industry, and to publish **Media Matters**, a newsletter highlighting issues, events, materials and viewpoints related to the study of media.

Beer Drinkers of America
150 Paularino, #190
Costa Mesa, CA 92626-9699

The Beer Drinkers of America protests bans of ads and sponsorships by beer companies. It lets people know beer ads and sponsorships are not the total cause of drunk driving or alcoholism. These ads should be protected under the First Amendment, not censored. Beer Drinkers of America suggest ways to get help and educate others on alternatives to censorship for combating alcohol abuse.

Better World Society
1100 Seventeenth Street NW
Suite 502
Washington, D.C. 20036

The goal of the Better World Society, (now defunct), was to use the power of television programming to stimulate public action on global issues, promote population stabilization and sustainable development, and define a new concept of national security.

In order to achieve its goal, the Better World Society produced documentaries about global environmental issues and aired them on WTBS, as well as broadcasting them in 59 other countries ranging from Angola to Yugoslavia.

Ted Turner, owner of WTBS, was chairman of the Better World Society, which included such renowned board members as former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, naturalist Jean-Michel Cousteau, and United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs Yasushi Akashi. Awards were given out annually in five categories. These categories were Protection of the Global Environment, Peace Advocacy and Arms Reduction, International Humanitarian Service, Population Stabilization and Communicating Global Solutions. Winners of awards included such diverse personalities as former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Phil Donahue, and such diverse organizations as Time Inc. and Greenpeace International.

Between the Lines
Capitol Hill Publishing Co.
325 Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Suite 272
Washington, D.C. 20003

Between the Lines is a newsletter published 24 times a year. It is edited by Joseph Farah, who attracted national attention when he was appointed for a time as editor of the Sacramento Union and gave it a distinctive Christian right tone.

Between the Lines seeks to draw attention to warn subscribers about the assault on American values by media elites based in Hollywood, New York and Washington. It specializes in the Hollywood community, where it reports on leftwing network TV news reporting and anti-American propaganda movies. Individuals on which it reports regularly include Ted Turner, Norman Lear, Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden.

Examples of Between the Lines stories include: "New national organization for homosexual journalists," "Whatever happened to religion on TV?," "C-SPAN: The way TV news should be," "The mindset of the establishment media," "How abandoning X rating cleared things up," "Norman Lear prepares his next TV bomb."

Black Citizens For a Fair Media
Emma L. Bowen, President
156-20 Riverside Dr., #13L
New York, NY 10032

No response to solicitation for information.

Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment
1 Duke Street, Suite 206
Hamilton, Ontario. L8P 1W9

C*CAVE, now inactive, was a non-profit organization concerned with raising public awareness to the problem of the escalating amount of violence with which people were confronted through various forms of the media. It believed television especially shows unrealistic and gratuitous violence.

The organization didn't condone censorship, instead, it tried to teach people through media literacy workshops and information. It held discussion sessions, so that participants could exercise control over the programming they and their families choose to watch. Topics included television violence, sports violence, pornography, rock videos and war toys.

Center for Media and Public Affairs
2101 L Street NW, Suite 405
Washington, D.C. 20037

Co-directed by Drs. S. Robert and Linda Lichter, the Center is a non-profit, non-partisan research and educational organization which analyzes scientifically how news and entertainment media treat social and political issues. The primary research tool is content analysis.

The center also conducts surveys to determine the media's role in structuring the national and international agenda. The center's goal is to fill the gap between academic scholarship and journalism by presenting scientifically valid media analysis in readable form to journalists, policy makers and the public.

With Stanley Rothman, the Lichters are co-authors of the most widely quoted research study cited by media watchers: The Media Elite: America's New Powerbrokers. The Center also published The Video Campaign: Network Coverage of the 1988 Primaries. Their latest book is Watching America, What T.V. Tells Us About Our Lives.

The Center's current findings are published in Media Monitor, a newsletter which appears 10 times a year. A sampling of the 1992 topics include: "The Parties Pick Their Candidates," "Saving the Children," "The Instant Replay War," and "Back in the USSR."

Center For Media and Values
1962 S. Shenadoah St.
Los Angeles, CA 90034

The Center for Media and Values provides information to educators and the public on how to effectively analyze the impact of media, and how to teach media literacy. Media literacy is knowing how to ask questions about what is seen and heard on television, understanding that story telling and special effects stir up emotions. It is also evaluating the messages conveyed on television against one's own values.

The center believes that a concern for values in today's media age is not so much knowing all the answers as being able to ask the right questions.

Media & Values is published quarterly by the center. It has dealt with such topics as "Home Video: The Revolution is Choice," "Coming of Age: Media and the Mature Audience," "The Birds, the Bees and Broadcasting: What the Media Teaches Our Kids About Sex," and "The Media: In War and Peace." Each issue of Media & Values follows the same general format. It has articles defining the issue. Then there is a "Reflection/Forum" section which includes opinion pieces. "Reflection Resources" includes a "Watch, Read, Listen" section that informs its readers how to take informed action on the issue.

Center For Public Integrity
1910 K St. NW
Suite 802
Washington, DC 20006

The Center was formed in 1989 by Charles Lewis, a former ABC and CBS News "60 Minutes" investigative reporter and producer. It was formed to better understand what has happened to public service. It is a non-profit, non-partisan group funded by private donations, labor unions, corporations and individuals. Its goal is to bring higher standards of ethics to government and its policies by providing the public with information that is not readily accessible. To attain this goal the Center researches and publishes extensive investigative reports on topics ranging from military restrictions on the media to campaign contributions.

Center for Science in the Public Interest
1875 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20009
(Same Address: Center for the Study of Commercialism)

The Center for Science in the Public interest is a health advocacy group. The Center is concerned with alcohol, tobacco, nonnutritious fast foods, cancer-causing food additives and other health threats. It is particularly concerned with deceptive advertisements.

As an example, the Center promotes regulation of alcohol ads on television, either through requiring stations to run an equal number of health and safety messages or through eliminating them altogether.

Its position: "Neutralizing alcohol ads with a good dose of honest information, or eliminating them, is an essential part of any comprehensive program for dealing with alcohol abuse and alcoholism."

The center annually gives its "Harlan Page Hubbard" lemon awards for irresponsible advertising. The Hubbard is named for the promoter of Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, a 19th century patent medicine. In 1991 one of the awards went to the Old Milwaukee Beer "Swedish bikini team" ad and to a Playboy magazine cover of the team. "Worst of the worse" awards went to Camel cigarettes' Smooth Joe cartoon character and to Northwest Airlines' claim of on-time performance, which was achieved through padding its schedules.

Center for the Study of Commercialism
1875 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20009-5728
(Same Address: Center for Science in the Public Interest)

The Center is dedicated to countering the commercial forces in the media which promote consumption over citizen. In 1992 it published a 76-page report, "Dictating Content: How Advertising Pressure Can Corrupt a Free Press."

Author of the report, Ronald Collins, states its premise: "The commercialization of the media involves a long-term erosion of principle, with a greater movement away from informing the citizenry and a corresponding movement toward facilitating the advertising/marketing process."

The Center researches, documents, publicizes, and opposes the excessive intrusion of commerical interests into the lives of U.S. citizens. It is concerned that commercialism promotes a culture characterized by greed, materialism, hedonism, and selfishness, translating people from citizens into consumers.

It contends that in the United States censorship of the mass media comes not from government but from advertisers. Advertisers' influence on the media often prevents fair coverage of political and social issues. Advertising frequently exploits women (and sometimes men) as sex objects.

The Center's action plan includes: (1) Opposing all corporate promotions in schools as a part of a larger commercial-free zone campaign. (2) Developing public service messages encouraging people to consume less, to be skeptical of advertising claims,; and to turn off their television sets. CSC supports "turn it off" TV-free days. (3) Supporting luxury taxes and a reduction in tax breaks for advertising. (4) Forcing Hollywood films to disclose the presence of paid-for product placements. (5) Exposing corporate censorship of the media. (6) Urging broadcasters to air news segments and specials on commercialism's impact on our lives. (7) Opposing such intrusive forms of advertising as computerized telephone solicitations and fax-machine ads. (8) Publicizing Heroes and Zeroes of commercialism. (9) Developing curricula on commercialism for high school social studies teachers.

Center for National Independence of Politics
129 N.W. 4th Street, Suite 204
Corvallis, OR 97330

The Center hopes to create an information base which voters and reporters can go to directly to verify political candidate's campaign claims. Its Project Vote Smart is designed to make citizens independent of campaign gimmicks and TV commercials.

It states: "Our democracy itself is threatened. The high-tech modern political campaign has succeeded in camouflaging the candidate, manipulating us emotionally instead of informing us intellectually."

Project Vote Smart will have a Voter's Information Hotline (1-800-786-6885), a Voter's Self-Defense Manual (1-900-786-6885), a questionnaire sent to every national candidate seeking their responses to issues identified by the Center, and a Reporter's Resource Center (1-503-737-4300). It will allow journalists to instantly check the credibility of political commercial messages. It will also provide 5,000 political reporters with a Reporter's Source Book, which has listing of issues and knowledgeable sources on those issues.

Center for War, Peace and the News Media
10 Washington Place
New York University
New York, NY 10003

The Center for War, Peace and the News Media was inaugurated in 1985 and is a part of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at New York University. It publishes a quarterly newsletter, Deadline.

Employing a non-partisan and interdisciplinary approach, the Center's research and programmatic activities address the substantive issues raised by news coverage of international security. It also examines the structural and behavioral issues that shape the reporting itself. The Center has established itself as a mediator between the journalism community, on the one hand, and the academic and policy communities, on the other.

Recent newsletters have contained articles by scholars on such topics as "Covering the Gulf Crisis," "Reporting Nuclear Proliferation," and "Remembering Pearl Harbor."

In early 1992 The Moscow Center for Democratic Journalism will open. It will be the first resource center for Soviet and American journalists working in Moscow. It will be a cooperative arrangement between the center and the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It will feature an on-line computer reference service that will allow users to assess electronic databases in the U.S. and Europe, a research library, a briefing program that will offer regular seminars and conferences on wide-ranging subjects, and provide a weekly bulletin of information useful to journalists like names, occupations and telephone numbers of prominent Western experts visiting the former USSR.

Other interesting projects include the European Security Network, which is designed to enhance U.S. media coverage of a greatly expanding Europe through targeting the gatekeepers of American media, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Media Project, which seeks to improve the reporting of post-cold war issues and nuclear proliferation.

Christian Coalition
825 Greenbrier Circle, Suite 202
Chesapeake, VA 23320

The Christian Coalition is the follow-up organization to Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign network. It seeks national television and newspaper publicity and advertising to promote an agenda of Christian values.

In a 1990 fund-raising letter, Robertson said: "During my campaign for the presidency, I learned the importance of the media. We were well organized at the grassroots, but the liberal media attacked us every day on TV and in the newspapers. We can't let that happen again. We must provide 'air support' for our members at the grassroots. That is why I will soon appear on TV giving the Christian perspective on the important issues facing America."

Christian Film & Television Colmmission (See Movieguide)

Citizens For Decency Through Law (pornography)
William D. Swindell, President
2845 E. Camelback Rd., Suite 740
Phoenix, AZ 85016

No response to solicitation for information.

Citizens For Media Responsibility Without Law
Nikki Craft, Contact
P.O. Box 4636
East Lansing, MI 48826

A letter of inquiry was sent to the organization on May 7, 1992. It was returned unopened and with no forwarding address.

CLeaR-TV (Christian Leaders for Responsible Television)
See American Family Association
P.O. Drawer 2440
Tupelo, MS 38803

CLeaR-TV is one of the largest and most diverse groups of Christian leaders ever to participate in a single social concern. Among its membership are the heads of 70 denominations, more than 100 Catholic bishops, 20 Lutheran bishops, presidents of 53 Christian colleges, 17 Episcopal bishops, 24 executive directors of state Southern Baptist Conventions, 24 United Methodist bishops, more than 200 Christian broadcasters and the heads of most of the large parachurch organizations in America).

The organization was founded in 1986 to let television networks know that the Christian community was tired of gratuitous sex, violence, profanity and anti-Christian bias in their programming.

CLeaR-TV urges its members and supporters to boycott advertisers of the greatest number of programs found offensive to its monitors.

Executive director of CLeaR-TV is the Rev. Donald Wildmon. He is also executive director of the American Family Association. CLeaR-TV does not have a membership publication, but accounts of CLeaR-TV activity are reported in American Family Association publications.

Columbia Journalism Review
700 Journalism Building
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

Columbia Journalism Review is the oldest of the publications which review journalism performance as self-criticism. Major concerns of 1991 included press coverage of the Persian Gulf War, particularly the way in which the U.S. military limited access to battleline units, and the 1992 election. One election concern is the impression that the television campaigns of 1984 and 1988 have diminished the importance of voters and increased the importance of money and consultants. Press coverage of the campaign is said to reinforce this impression. Another aspect of CJR coverage is the nature and effect of campaign advertising.

A regular feature is "Darts and Laurels." Darts frequently go to news media who have served its own business interest or other powerful economic interests. Laurels typically go to media who take risks in reporting.

Columbia Journalism Review's 30th Anniversary issue of November/December 1991, contained a special section on the First Amendment. It ran a series of articles under the title "The Most Serious Threat Is..." Among the topics were: "Abuse of Privilege," "Lying," "Constitutional Illiteracy," "The Cloak of Privacy," "The Shush Reflex," "Self-Censorship," "Warrior Lawyers," and "Sheer Gutlessness."

Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in U.S. (Camera)
P.O. Box 590359
San Francisco, CA 94159

CAMERA's purpose is to combat media inaccuracies through public education and publicity about anti-Zionist propaganda.

One of its concerns during the Persian Gulf War was United States partnership with Saudi Arabia. It ran an advertisement: "Saudi Arabia: Does it support America's interest in the area?" Its conclusion: "Saudi Arabia is not 'moderate.' It bankrolls Syria--the Soviet Union's ally and client state--and is the paymaster of the terrorist PLO."

COMINT (Journal of the Committee on Media Integrity)
Center for the Study of Popular Culture
12400d Ventura Blvd., Suite 304
Studio City, CA 91604

The Committee on Media Integrity issues a quarterly newsletter, Comint, and has published a monograph by David Horowitz, The Problem with Public TV.

The Committee on Media Integrity says it is a group of concerned citizens and media professionals who enjoy public television, but are concerned about its failure to provide balanced and responsibly reported programming in current affairs.

It considers the The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour to be balanced and especially liked Frontline's recent segment, "The Struggle for South Africa." However, it expresses concern about what it considers PBS' failure to present conservative viewpoints other than those of William Buckley and John McLaughlin, its one-sided support for the "global warming" environmental threat, and other instances of what it considers a left-leaning agenda.

Concerned Women for America
370 L'Enfant Promenade, S.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20024

Founded in 1979 by Beverly LaHaye, Concerned Women of America is the largest non-partisan, politically active women's organization in the nation. CWA promotes Judeo-Christian and traditional family values in law and public policy and represents 600,000 nationwide. CWA seeks to provide a voice for women who feel the feminist movement does not speak for them.

CWA represents nearly 600,000 members, including 70,000 men. Its programs are focused under the headings of education, legal defense, legislative programs, humanitarian aid and related activities. There are chapters in all 50 states and a legislative and legal office on Capitol Hill. CWA's Legal Department, created in 1983, handles many religious freedom and constitutional rights cases.

CWA broadcasts "Beverly LaHaye Live," a national daily radio show focusing on issues affecting the family, and publishes Family Voice, a monthly news magazine.

CWA is particularly concerned with how the media shows its liberal bias by consistently going to feminist groups such as the National Organization for Women to report on what American women stand for. In contrast to pro-abortion women's organizations, CWA actively supported the Senate confirmation of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

CWA also regularly encourages its members to contact TV networks, magazines, and advertisers when they see biased coverage of topics such as abortion, or programs that glorify anti-family values such as promiscuous sex and homosexuality.

Council For Children's Television and Media
Marilyn Droz, Executive Director
33290 W. 14 Mil Rd., Suite 488
West Bloomfield, MI 48322

A letter of enquiry was sent to the above organization on May 7, 1992. It was returned unopened and with no forwarding address.

The Dove Foundation
4521 Broadmoor SE
Grand Rapids, MI 49512

The Dove Foundation reviews movies on video to identify those that are safe for family viewing with the Dove Family-Approved Seal. The Foundation publishes a newsletter and a list of over 600 Dove-approved titles which is updated quarterly. An informative presentation called

"Hollywood's Impact On Family Values", is available to church adults, youth groups and other gatherings. The managing director of the Dove Foundation is Dick Rolfe.

Eagle Forum
Box 618
Alton, IL 62002

Eagle Forum has 80,000 members. It publishes a newsletter The Phyllis Schlafly Report and circulates her radio programs and videos.

Eagle Forum encourages citizen-volunteers to help determine governmental policies in Congress and state legislatures, elect candidates at every level, and articulate pro-family policies in the media.

The clean cable television legislation is one of Eagle Forum's Action Agenda. It would prevent cable television from distributing pornographic material which promotes domestic violence.

Environmental Media Association (EMA)
10536 Culver Blvd.
Culver City, CA 90232

EMA is a non-profit organization serving the entertainment community as a clearing house for environmental information and expertise. It works with writers, producers, directors and others to encourage the incorporation of environmental themes in television, film and music.

EMA sponsors Environmental Media Awards, which honor film television, and music projects that have dealt responsibly and effectively with environmental themes. EMA believes the entertainment industry can educate and motivate the public to confront environmental problems and take decisive steps towards their solutions.

Its goals are: (1) To reach out and engage the creative community, encouraging them to combat the environmental crisis through their work. (2) To sponsor educational forums for the entertainment industry on current environmental issues. (3) To act as a clearing house on environmental information and expertise for the entertainment community. (4) To encourage films, television programs and other creative projects to incorporate environmental themes. (5) To institute an awards program to celebrate quality films and television programs that explore environmental themes. (6) To provide communications expertise to the environmental community. (7) To inspire the creation of a global network of similar organizations harnessing the power of the media for the environment.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting(FAIR)
130 W. 25th Street
New York, NY 10001-0144

FAIR is a national media research group. It seeks to investigate the First Amendment by advocating for greater pluralism and diversity in the press.

In an effort to improve media reporting, FAIR provides well-documented press criticism and challenges media institutions to live up to their professional standards. It scrutinizes media practices that slight public interest and minority view points.

FAIR publishes the monthly magazine Extra! Sample articles in the January/February 1992 issue include these subheads: "How Reagan Duped the Media in 1980," "National Media Give David Duke a Face-Lift," "The Paper of 'Spiritual Warfare'," "The New York Times Doesn't Get It," and "Ethnic Rift Widened by Press Bias."

FAIR announced in March 1992 that it was hiring its first full-time media activism coordinator. The item in Extra! said: "In an effort to galvanize widespread public discontent over media distortions and censorship, FAIR has hired Kim Deterline as its first full-time media activism coordinator. She will be working to strengthen and expand FAIR's activist arm, which includes a growing network of local media watch affiliates that focus on key problems in their communities and participate in FAIR's national campaigns. Deterline will also be cultivating FAIR's ongoing relationships with women's, civil rights, labor, environmental, senior citizen, gay and lesbian, student and other public interest organizations around the country."

Fairness in Media

Fairness in Media, (now defunct), was an offshoot of the National Congressional Club, an umbrella organization for North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms' financing of political campaigns and other worthy ventures.

The original goal of Fairness in Media was to purchase enough CBS stock to acquire working control of the network. The project never got very far, partly because it was upstaged by Georgia entrepreneur Ted Turner's own subsequent bid to buy CBS. Turner's bid also fell short, but ultimately CBS acquiesced to a takeover bid by Loew's Laurence Tisch, who agreed to share control with longtime CBS owner Bill Paley.

In its final stages Fairness in Media directed its barbs at Ted Turner rather than CBS.

FineLine

FineLine, (now defunct), was a monthly newsletter on journalism ethics. Each issue gave an inside look at actual case studies written by editors, news directors and reporters, describing ethical dilemmas they had faced and how they resolved them. It accepted articles from people within the profession for the newsletter.

It failed to attract sufficient subscriptions from journalists. In terminating the publication, Louisville's Barry Bingham Jr. said it was successful with academics but received disappointing support from news organizations and working journalists.

FLAME (Facts and Logic About the Middle East)
P.O. Box 590359
San Francisco, CA 94159

FLAME's purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. It pursues these goals and publishes these messages in national newspapers and magazines.

In an October 1990 advertisement entitled, "Israel and the Media," FLAME concludes: "The media do not give the 'intifada' fair coverage. It's partly the sheer volume of the coverage, which gives this minor regional conflict perceived importance that it doesn't have. It also lies in the persistent anti-Israel slant that permeates the reporting in all media. Finally, the media, almost without exception, focus on the immediate "drama" and do not explore the history and background of the conflict..."

Focus On The Family
P.O. Box 35500
Colorado Springs, CO 80935-3550

Focus on the Family was founded by Dr. James C. Dobson, a licensed psychiatrist and author of 12 best-selling books on the family. The organization has as its single mission the strengthening of families. It affirms the belief that only a total return to the biblical concepts of morality, fidelity and parental leadership will halt the erosion of the family unit.

Focus on the Family is principally concerned with providing resources directly to families and through churches or schools. As a smaller part of its program, it is concerned with the mass media. Among those concerns are such issues as pornography, offensive lyrics, instances of media sympathy with abortion rights or homosexual rights, promotion of "safe sex" without consideration given to abstinence.

Its areas of concentration include the radio program "Focus on the Family," a 30-minute daily broadcast carried on over 1,800 stations in North America and 3,000 more worldwide. It also directly publishes its award-winning books; produces family films which have aired on national network television and on local cable outlets; provides educational resources to public, private, Christian and home schools; produces several monthly periodicals for special audiences. Radio programs are broadcast internationally in Spanish and Russian, and many of the 12 books written by Dobson have been translated into three dozen foreign languages.

Citizen is its public affairs monthly. It updates readers on legislation, government regulations, court decisions, education, and other current social policy issues or events which affect the family.

Family Research Council in Washington, D.C., provides a base of policy influence and research effort on behalf of the home. Operating on less than 5 percent of the Focus on the Family's annual budget, it produces such publications as Washington Watch and Family Policy.

Dobson wrote with associate Gary Bauer the book, Children at Risk, in which Dobson suggested that a "civil war of values" was raging over the children of America. This expression is frequently used by critics of the mass media to describe their concern about the values they see expressed in the media.

Freedom Alliance
P.O. Box 96700
Washington, D.C. 20090

Freedom Alliance is the organization formed by former Lt. Col. Oliver North to further his conservative agenda. Although fund-raising letters frequently decry the news coverage of the "liberal media," it has not had media watching as a prime goal. Most of its programs have been to honor war veterans or promote governmental reform, particularly "the abuses inherent in the Independent Counsel statute."

In Lt. Col. North's initial letter to potential members of Freedom Alliance, he stated as one of the reasons for such collective action: "We have a national media that seems intent on destroying traditional American values and humiliating America before a world looking to us for leadership."

In a letter accompanying the July 1992 membership publication, Free American, North writes: "Finally, we can't survive a filthy media that uses the television as a sewer into our living rooms. I think we all increasingly are getting tired of the profanity, promiscuity and gratuitous violence on the television screen. And violence-oriented Rap music has to be condemned by all those concerned about the preservation of the family in the inner city."

The Freedom Foundation (formerly The Gannett Foundation)
1101 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, VA 22209

The Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University has published a number of studies about public perceptions of the mass media.

A 1987 publication on the proceedings of a national conference, The Mass Media and the Public Trust, expresses the purpose for the founding of the Center at Columbia:

"Nothing is more central to the link between the mass media and their audiences than public trust. Especially in the United States, the confidence that the public has in the news media is essential to the functioning of freedom of the press. Without it, democracy's central nervous system shuts down...

"The Gannett Center for Media Studies was established a few months after the celebrated Grenada affair, when public wrath about the press seemed at an all-time high. Members of our National Advisory Committee, representing media and academic leadership, decided that the public trust issue--the fragile nexus between audience and medium--ought to be high on the Center's agenda.

Other related publications of the Gannett Center include American Institutions and the Media (1985), The Media and the People: Americans' Experience with the News Media (1985), The Media and the People: Soundings from Two Communities (1986), Begging Your Pardon: Corrections and Correction Policies at Twelve U.S. Newspapers (1986), an occasional paper also entitled The Mass Media and Public Trust (1985), and another conference proceedings, Media Freedom and Accountability (1988).

Fund For Objective News Reporting
422 First St., SE
Washington, DC 20003

No information received.

Gender & Mass Media
Department of Journalism, Media and Communication
Stockholm University
Gjorwellsgatan 26
S-112 60 Stockholm, SWEDEN

The purpose of this newsletter is to inform readers about research on gender and mass media. It maintains a mailing list of persons interested in the field, helping to establish a network of scholars and practitioners. The mailing list includes more than 500 persons in

Europe, Asia, Oceania, Africa, North, South and Central America.

A goal of the publication is to exchange information about activities and efforts aiming to improve equality between women and men within mass media companies and media content. It also seeks to inform readers about conferences, seminars and other meetings related to this objective.

The newsletter is a co-project of the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, University of Stockholm, and the Audience & Programme Research Department, Swedish Broadcasting Company.

GLAAD (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation)
150 West 26 Street, Suite 503
New York, NY 10001

GLAAD was founded in 1985 as a national voice against hate and a strong defender and advocate of lesbian and gay pride.

GLAAD has four major programs: (1) Educate media executives about violence and discrimination provoked by defamation, and produce public serviced advertising to counter stereotyping. (2) Mobilize community response to defamation through protests, picket lines, letter writing campaigns and phone trees. (3) Produce "Naming Names," a nationally-syndicated radio and television program, and publishes an informative bimonthly bulletin, documenting anti-gay defamation and empowering people to respond. (4) Work with programmers and producers of television shows and movies to generate positive coverage of the gay and lesbian community.

Institute for Media Analysis (See Lies of Our Times)

Institute for Public Affairs
2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago, IL 60647

The institute is publisher of In These Times, a tabloid which comes out 41 times a year.

In These Times frequently carries articles or book reviews about the news media's coverage of such topics as the environment, labor, Iran-Contra, censorship, feminism, and outside pressures against the media. It claims the mainstream media have underplayed stories such as revelations that Ronald Reagan's campaign made a secret deal with Iran's president for Iran not to release its American hostages prior to the 1980 election, thus preventing President Carter from taking credit for the feat.

The publication maintained that the news media contributed to the United States' "war psychosis" building up to the Persian Gulf War and then minimized its consequences for the civilian population of Iraq. More importantly, in its eyes the media never discussed the underlying foreign policy principles--i.e., the U.S. as world policeman, the nature of President Bush's "New World Order," etcetera.

In October 1991 the publisher of In These Times, James Weinstein, made an appeal to its subscribers for $120,000 in donations to keep the publication going. The goal was revised in January to $150,000. Since that time the Institute has received around $60,000.

League of Women Voters
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The League of Women Voters was founded in 1920 as an outgrowth of the women's suffrage movement. It now has 250,000 members, including 5,000 males. There are 1,250 local leagues, and leagues in all 50 states, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

The League has numerous concerns, but one of them is "negative, distorted political advertising." It states: "This is perhaps the problem most clearly visible to the average voter: television, newspaper and direct mail advertising with virtually no real information, but plenty of mudslinging, distortion and even outright lies. Denied the factual information we need to cast an intelligent ballot, our precious right to vote is degraded and becomes a tragic joke."

Related problems are the high cost of television advertising for those running for high federal office and "television news as entertainment." LWV is also concerned about the effects of public opinion polls taken during campaigns and election winner projections based on exit interviews by television networks.

Lies of Our Times
Institute for Media Analysis
145 West 4th Street
New York, NY 10012

Lies of Our Times (LOOT) is a monthly publication which particularly monitors the New York Times. It explains: " Our 'Times' are the times we live in but also the words of the New York Times, the most cited news medium in the U.S., our paper of record. Our 'Lies' are more than literal falsehoods; they encompass subjects that have been ignored, hypocrisies, misleading emphases, and hidden premises--the biases which systematically shape reporting."

LOOT deals with other media as well. Sample headlines include: "EPA Official Accuses *Nightline* of Distortions," "The *Cosmo* Woman," and "The CNN War That Wasn't."

The publication feels that the *New York Times* is an establishment publication which does little to challenge government, corporations or other elite groups in our society.

Me[illegible] Access Project
Andrew Jay Schwartzman, Executive Director
2000 M St., NW, 4th Floor
Washington, DC 20036

No information received.

Media Action Research Center (See: Center for Media & Values)

"Growing with Television" is a series of lesson plans to permit children to understand the values transmitted by television. The lessons include such topics as "The American Dream," "Simplistic Problems and Solutions," "Consumerism," "Uniformity-Diversity," "Sex and Sexuality," "Images of Self" and "Models of Behavior." This lesson material was originally produced by the Media Action Research Center, which has since been merged with the Center for Media & Values.

Media Coalition
Christopher Finan, Director
900 Third Ave., Suite 1600
New York, NY 10022

No information received.

Media Forum
1272 S. Broson Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90019

No information received.

The Media Foundation
1243 W. 7th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C. V6H 1B7 Canada

Publishes the journal Adbusters: Journal of Mental Environment, is designed to give an uncompromising look at the "...pollution of our mental environment, with cogent strategies for change."

Designed to disturb as well as galvanize, Adbusters is to the mental environment what Greenpeace is to the "Green Movement." The journal documents and satirizes the excesses of modern culture and the abuses of the $130 billion ad game.

The Media Institute
83017 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

The Media Institute is a nonprofit research foundation which has published a number of studies analyzing media coverage of major public-policy issues. It also sponsors a series of programs related to the new technologies, the First Amendment, and other communications policy issues.

In 1988 it published Moscow Meets Main Streets: Changing Journalistic Values and the Growing Soviet Presence on American Television by Dr. Ted J. Smith III.

Other media-related books published by The Media Institute include: TV News and the Dominant Culture; Sweet Talk: Media Coverage of Artificial Sweeteners; The Alternative Influences; Chemical Risks: Fears, Facts and the Media; TV News Coverage and the (1985) Budget Debate; Using New Communications Technologies: A Guide to Organizations; and Cable Television and the First Amendment.

A letter seeking further information was sent to the Institute on May 5, 1992. It was returned unopened and with no forwarding address.

Media Research Center
113 S. West Street, Second Floor
Alexandria, VA 22314

The Media Research Center was formed in 1987 by L. Brent Bozell III, former president of the National Conservative Political Action Committee. It publishes two newsletters, MediaWatch and TVD,etc., plus a humorous sheet entitled "Notable Quotables."

It published a book of media watcher resources: And That's The Way It Isn't: A Reference Guide to Media Bias.

Annually the Center gives a "Linda Ellerbee Award for Distinguished Reporting" to "those reporters who have uttered the most meaningless, inane, unsubstantiated and/or ridiculous statements...during the past year."

One its major concerns is the liberal slant given news by PBS. It charges that Frontline, the weekly PBS public affairs show, serves as a mouthpiece for trendy liberal causes. It also regards the specials featuring Bill Moyers as following a liberal agenda.

Its review of prime time television in TV,etc. maintains shows like LA Law feature "good" liberals and "bad" conservatives.

It not only monitors prime time and cable TV programming but also current cinematic fare, recent record releases, newspapers, and magazines for evidence of Hollywood's or mainstream media's political bias.

MediaWatch regularly awards the "Janet Cooke Award" for "the most outrageously distorted news story of the month."

"Notable quotables" has been one of the most effective means of criticizing the media since it uses examples taken directly from the media themselves. The quotes seek to demonstrate bias or internal contradictions in the minds of the originator.

Media Network
121 Fulton Street, 5th Floor
New York, NY 10038

The Media Network is a national organization that links independent media producers with audiences who seek an alternative point of view on the issues affecting their lives, their communities and the world at large.

Media Report to Women
Communication Research Associates, Inc.
10606 Mantz Road
Silver Spring, MD 20903-1228

The MRTW is a quarterly newsletter that focuses on women in the mass media and their portrayal of women and girls. It is the oldest newsletter covering women in the media. The newsletter reports on mass media research by academic sources, opinion research organizations, special-interest groups, and think tanks.

Some of its reports have included: "ABC Has Poorest Network Showing of On-Air Women Correspondents," "ASNE Report: Gay, Lesbian Journalists Concerned Over Newsroom Roles, Coverage," "Gains Small for Women at Daily Newspapers in U.S.," and "To Name or Not to Name: Media Struggle With Identifying Rape Survivors."

Morality in Media
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115

Morality in Media began 30 years ago to alert the American people to the extent of the pornography business and to promote vigorous enforcement of obscenity laws. In 1983 MIM gathered a coalition of national leaders to meet with President Reagan about the pornographic situation. This conference led to the establishment of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography and the formation of the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section of the Department of Justice, which has secured convictions of some of the nation's top pornographers.

With federal enforcement underway, MIM turned its attention to local enforcement. As part of this action, MIM adopted the White Ribbon Against Pornography (WRAP) Campaign as a national program. Currently there are 300 "Real Men Don't Use Porn" billboards in at least 80 cities in 27 states. It also promoted "Turn Off TV Day" on October 29 during its 1991 October WRAP campaign.

MIM also sponsors the National Obscenity Law Center. The center is privately funded and set up to be a clearinghouse in obscenity law.

It includes copies of all reported obscenity cases since 1800. The purposes of the center are to furnish prosecutors with objective information so they can fairly enforce obscenity laws, to furnish to governmental agencies and prosecutors publications dealing with present obscenity laws, and to earn the reputation of being the most authoritative source on obscenity matters.

Morality in Media sponsored a two-hour interactive teleconference on May 9, 1992, entitled: "Pornography: A Plague on Society and What You Can Do About It." It was distributed nationally by satellite through CTNA Telecommunications, Inc. The teleconference was divided into three segments, which represented the scope of MIM's interest: (1) The Nature of the Pornography Problem and Its Effects, (2) The Constitutional Methods of Combating Pornography, and (3) The Entertainment Media's Assault on Morality and Decency.

Mother Jones
Foundation for National Progress
1663 Mission Street, 2nd Floor
San Francisco, CA 94103

Mother Jones was one of the rare publications to come to the defense of "political correctness" when it seemed to be universally criticized in the news media. Its cover story was entitled: "Return Fire: We take aim at the Patriotically Correct." An accompanying item was Susan Faludi's satiric "Blame It on Feminism: What's wrong with women today? Too much equity."

The article capsules her best-selling book, Backlash.

Mother Jones devoted a cover story to The News Shapers Study, a 55-page report produced at the University of Minnesota School of Journalism, which analyzed the experts used by the ABC, CBS and NBC evening news shows during 1987 and 1988. The authors, Los Angeles-based journalist Marc Cooper and University of Minnesota teacher Lawrence C. Soley, found that a very small group of experts returned night after night to comment on news developments. The study observed: "They tend to be men rather than women, East Coasters rather than West, and Republicans, (along with a few conservative Democrats), rather than critics of the political establishment. Also favored by television news are ex-government officials, (mostly from Republican administrations), and "scholars" from conservative Washington, D.C., think tanks who appear to be more steeped in political partisanship than in academic credentials."

The May/June 1992 issue contains an article, "Journalism of Joy," by Ben H. Bagdikian, which charges the mass media of the 1980s as being cheerleaders for President Ronald Reagan in exchange for being allowed to create giant, monopolistic media empires. Reagan-era deregulation "relieved broadcasters of traditional requirements for public service,

made it almost impossible for citizen groups to challenge renewal of station licenses, and lifted limits on the number of stations that a single corporation can acquire." In addition, Bagdikian charged that anti-trust laws were sedated to permit the biggest newspaper chains to sweep up "local monopolies" and the National Labor Relations Board permitted the media giants to go on "a ten-year spree of union busting."

Movieguide
Good News Communications
P.O. Box 9952
Atlanta, GA 30319

Movieguide is one of several interrelated activities headed by Ted Baehr, founder and chairman of the Christian Film and Television Commission (CFTVC). In 1992 Baehr also took over as director of The National Association of Ratings Board.

Baehr's vision is to see Christians make the kind of impact upon Hollywood that they had from 1930 to 1968 when representatives from Protestant and Catholic churches reviewed scripts and judged them according to the standards of the Motion Picture Code.

CFTVC follows a two-pronged educational strategy: Helping the entertainment industry appreciate the concerns of Christians and helping Christians develop discernment in their viewing habits.

Movieguide has a radio, television and print version. It is filled with biblically based reviews of the latest movies. Movieguide does more than list the objectional images and dialogues in the movies. The reviews also discuss the movie's premise, the characters' morals, and the portrayal of the church and of the world.

The Nation
The Nation Company, Inc.
72 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10011

The Nation, a left-leaning weekly political magazine, seeks to build its readership through a form of "media bashing" direct mail advertising. The envelope cover contains three words: "Trust the Media?"

Solicitation of new subscribers begins with step #1 of audience segmentation: "If you believe that all the news in a paper like The New York Times decides is "fit to print" is all the news you need to know, you'd better steer clear of The Nation."

Solicitation of renewals begins: "You've got two choices: (*) trust what the media tells you (and ignore the fact that most of them speak for--in fact, are owned by--the big money/power cartels); or (*) renew your subscription to The Nation today."

The Nation Associates, an organization to bolster the publication's finances, co-sponsored in October 1991 a round table of journalists discussing the Persian Gulf War, the muzzling of the media, and the role of independent journalism. The Nation Institute co-sponsored with The Playboy Foundation a colloquium entitled: "Culture Wars: Challenges to Commercial Free Speech." The October 21, 1991, issue of The Nation described its concern: "Pressure on advertisers to withdraw sponsorship of television programs and periodicals and on distributors of movies, records, videotapes, and books to remove constitutionally protected materials poses a major challenge to a free and open marketplace of ideas."

Among other concerns of The Nation are major newspapers' promotion of "Op-Ed billboards, opposition to a bill by Sen. Jesse Helms to ban "indecent" material from the airwaves 24 hours a day, a temporary restraining order by the U.S. Supreme Court blocking use by Cable News Network of tapes of jailhouse telephone conversations of Gen. Manuel Noriega, and a decision by publisher Simon & Schuster not to publish American Psycho because of feminist protests.

In 1990 The Nation gave its first annual Nation Magazine/I. F. Stone Award for Student Journalism. The winner was Dave Newbart of Knox College, who wrote an alternative press article about an industrial accident at the Admiral Manufacturing Corporation plant in Galesburg, Ill., exposing workers to a dangerous chemical, which was covered up and settled with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration by $720 in fines.

The National Association of Ratings Board
(Movie Guide)
P.O. Box 9952
Atlanta, GA 30319

The purpose of the NARB is to provide the public with an effective and useful alternative rating system other than the current industry-controlled rating system. The NARB serves as a research clearinghouse and support system for the creation and maintenance of public movie ratings boards.

NARB's goal is to provide the public with an effective and useful alternative rating system other than the current industry-controlled rating system. NARB proposes the development of public rating boards whose ratings would be legally enforceable.

Its newsletter, NARB News, contains information for local groups to pressure the movie theaters which show NC-17 movies by picketing, protests in the media, and follow-up campaigns to build a network of concerned participants.

Originally started by Dr. Thomas Radecki, Champaign, Ill., who for years directed the National Coalition on Television Violence, it is now directed by Theodore Baehr (Movie Guide), Atlanta, Ga.

National Black Media Coalition
38 New York Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

The NBMC is a civil rights organization in the United States that works exclusively and full-time in a single issue area--mass communications. The NBMC was founded in 1973 and has been a working partner in the efforts of government, Congress and progressive forces within the telecommunications industry to increase black America's access to one of the nation's most powerful industries.

National Coaltion Against Censorship, Inc.
275 7th Avenue
New York, NY 10001

The NCAC is a coaltion of national nonprofit organizations fighting censorship and advocating First Amendment rights. The NCAC monitors and publicizes censorship litigation and legislation and assists communities in countering censorship in schools, libraries and the press, across the country.

Censorship News is a quarterly publication published by NCAC. It covers threats from groups seeking to censor the media and acknowledges efforts of groups which are seeking to combat censorship. It encourages subscribers to fight censorship at the local levels by personal contacts, letters, letters to the editor, and through orgnization of local anti-censorship groups.

NCAC lists 40 organizations which it says are part of the coalition. They include religious, educational, artistic, labor, professional and civil rights groups.

National Coalition Against Pornography, Inc.
800 Compton Road, Suite 9224
Cincinnati, OH 45231

The N-CAP was established in 1983 to mobilize and focus millions of Americans for the fight against the destructive impact of obscenity and child pornography. The organization has campaigns such as "Enough is Enough!", that educate the public about pornography, obscenity, and its effects on sexual abuse rates in American society. Despite its determined stand against pornography, the N-CAP opposes censorship by the government.

N-CAP gathers and provides extensive research findings about the harm of pornography to the public. A very active part of N-CAP is its National Law Center for Children and Families in Washington, D.C., that provides legal assistance on a local and national level. These efforts include legislative assistance, prosecutor training and the filing of "friend of the court" briefs. Additionally, N-CAP provides consultation and educational materials to local communities seeking to enforce local and national obscenity laws.

Objectives of N-CAP include: (1) To educate the public about the prevelence and severity of illegal obscenity and child pornography in American today - its physical, psychological and sociological harm. (2) To mobilize and assist citizen groups who support enforcing of existing laws against the production, distribution and sale of illegal obscenity and child pornography. (3) To support and assist government agencies entrusted with enforcing constitutional laws that prevent sexual violence, and to support and help draft legislation that strengthens or initiates such laws.

National Coalition on Television Violence
P.O. Box 2157
Champaign, IL 61825-2157

This organization founded on February 1, 1980, focuses on violence in the media, mainly the television market. It publishes a bi-monthly newsletter that focuses on issues related to stopping television violence.

It monitors video games, war toys, and cable television in search of glamorized violence. In protest of such violence, it urges members to write to local television stations, letter to the editor of local newspapers, and to the Federal Communications Commission. It has a publication entitled NCTV News.

Dr. Carole Lieberman, M.D., became chair of NCTV after Thomas Radecki resigned in November 1991.

National Council for Families & Television
3801 Barham Blvd., Suite 300
Los Angeles, CA 90068

This organization is a non-adversarial, non-profit educational organization that brings together television's creative community and other groups with an important interest in family life.

The purpose of NCFT is to promote the well-being of children and families through primetime television programming. It tries to accomplish this by communicating information to those working in the television industry on issues which impact families such as health, human relations, education, the environment and public policy.

A conference is held annually which focuses on a subject of concern that television professionals, and others such as social scientists and educators, can discuss and exchange ideas on. Through Television & Families, a quarterly magazine, NCFT features stories relating to the organization's mission. Additionally, through Information Service, a monthly bulletin, pertinent news item reprints are shown which keep readers up-to-date on the issues related to the organization.

National Council of the Churches of Christ
Department of Communication
Room 852, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115

The NCC's Department of Communication, through its Media Ethics and Advocacy Committee, has studied violence and sexual violence in the media, and has offered guidance to its member communions about actions to be taken based on this research. The NCC has passed a policy statement on "Violence and Sexual Violence in Film, Television and Home Video."

The Media Ethics and Advocacy Committee monitors FCC regulatory actions and Congressional legislation which affects media issues. NCC offers testimony before Congress and the FCC on proposed regulation and legislation. The thrust of such testimony is to ensure public access to media, to support fairness in media regulation, and to work toward media that truly operate in the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

National Federation of Local Cable Programmers
P.O. Box 27290
Washington, D.C. 20038-7290

NFLCP is an organization that encourages and fosters citizen participation in community television. It advocates cable access and promotes programming by individuals and organizations within communities.

It provides members with educational materials and resources, and holds a national convention which discusses First Amendment issues important to the group. It also displays award-winning programming.

National Federation of Press Women
1105 Main, Box 99
Blue Springs, MO 64013

The NFPW was organized in Chicago in 1937 to meet the needs of women journalists. It offers the support of a broad-based communications organization to help members attain professional and personal goals.

The membership has grown to over 4000. Its purpose remains: "To promote the highest ideals in journalism, to provide exchange of journalistic ideas and experiences and to coordinate editorial opinions on matters of national interest to women."

The group is active in the First Amendment Congress. It also works on obtaining more racial ethnic women in media and represented in issues on ethics in news coverage and advertising. It stresses responsibility in news coverage, along with freedom.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
1734 14th Street NW
Washington, DC 20009-4309

The NGLTF was founded in 1973 in New York City. It is now headquartered in Washington, D.C., and is the oldest national gay and lesbian civil rights advocacy organization. NGLTF organizes, lobbies, educates and demonstrates for full equality for gays and lesbians.

The Task Force has 15 full-time staff members, a 24-person board of directors and numerous volunteers. The organization claims 17,000 members nationwide. According to NGLTF the consolidated 1991 budget totals about $1.36 million and 1990 expenditures totaled $931,765.

Some of the Task Forces' ongoing work includes: (1) Anti-Violence Project- researches "gay bashing" and works to get federal, state and local hate crimes laws passed. (2) Privacy/Civil Rights Project-works to get sodomy laws rescinded in the 24 states where they exist. (3) Lesbian and Gay Families Project-works to get legal protection and recognition for gay families. (4) Campus Project-works to help gay students, teachers, staff and alumni fight for equality at the college level. (5) Military Freedom Initiative-working to get the anti-gay policy of the Department of Defense abolished.

NGLTF's goal: "...to eradicate prejudice, discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation and HIV status, and to serve its members in a manner that reflects the diversity of the lesbian and gay community. NGLTF is committed to ending systems of oppression in all forms."

National Journalism Center
Education and Research Institute
800 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

The NJC, a program of the Education and Research Institute, is an organization dedicated to training aspiring journalists in the skills of media work, including providing fair coverage of major issues by the press. Journalism students from across the country intern and attend seminars, working with editors from large newspapers and other media outlets. NJC now estimates it has 500 alumni working in media and media-related posts.

During 1990 NJC established fellowships in economic journalism and enrolled 15 economic fellows. The premise of this effort is that the vast majority of domestic (and many foriegn) stories have an economic impact, and that journalists ignorant of the market, supply and demand, the pricing mechanism, etc., are ill equipped to do their jobs.

In 1990 NJC had 59 interns from 52 colleges and universities successfully complete its internship program. It conducts three 12-week internship sessions annually--spring, summer and fall. Interns work with media outlets in the Washington, D.C., area and attend more than 60 lectures and seminars sponsored annually by the Education & Research Institute and National Journalism Center.

National Organization for Women (NOW)
1000 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The National Organization for Women is concerned about such issues as safe and legal abortions, violence against women, divorce equity, women's health, gender balance and other related issues.

Typical media concerns include failure of the media to cover women's demonstrations, critical media stories of "political correctness" on college campuses, and violence against women in fiction and television entertainment. Specific examples include protests over the book, American Psycho, and Sally Quinn's widely published interview, "Who Killed Feminism?"

The National NOW Times carries a periodic column, "Media Cheers and Jeers," which contains telephone numbers for each of the major networks. The newspaper also contains a box: "NOW In The News," in which readers are asked to send clippings mentioning NOW to its headquarters Press Department.

National Telemedia Council, Inc.
120 E. Wilson Street
Madison, WI 53703

The NTC, a non-profit organization now in its 40th year, promotes media literacy, or critical viewing skills, through interaction with teachers, parents, researchers and other interested individuals. The Council believes that the influence of media is pervasive, necessitating an audience capable of mindful viewing and reflective judgment.

Through its newly developed Media Literacy Clearinghouse and Center, NTC tries to communicate the importance of media literacy and the expansion of critical viewing skills education programs.

NTC has two periodicals, Telemedium and Telemedium Update, to inform members about issues, resources, ideas and happenings in media literacy education.

NTC's oldest project, Look-Listen-Think-Respond, provides material for teachers from grades one through college to help students evaluate television programs. It not only allows students to become mindful viewers and thinkers, but it also encourages active parent involvement and interaction.

Near East Report
500 N. Capitol Street, N.W., Room 307
Washington, D.C. 20001

Near East Report is a weekly publication on American policy in the Middle East. It regularly updates a booklet, Myth and Facts: A Concise Record of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, in an attempt to counter what it regards as a propaganda claims surrounding the conflict. An early edition of the publication warned: "Ever since the State of Israel was established in 1948, the Arab states have waged war against her on four fronts: military, diplomatic, economic and propaganda. Punctuating the gunfire, there has been a never-ending propaganda fusillade to capture world opinion and isolate Israel."

The New American
The Review of the News, Inc.
77 Westhill Boulevard
Appleton, WI 54915
(Publisher John F. McManus is also president of the John Birch Society)

In a house ad in the April 6, 1992, issue of The New American declares:

"Our perspective is not based upon some cosmetic claim to 'objectivity,' but upon right and wrong. We are open about our partisanship. But we're partisans for principles and traditional values, not political parties or personalities. We're unabashedly for America, its continued independence, and its inspired Constitution. And we're quick to expose those who would scrap our Constitution, by design or by ignorance, by frontal assault or gradualism.

"That's why The New American is universally praised by constitutionalists and roundly condemned by collectivists. Our goal is to educate and to activate Americans in support of God, family, and country. And if in doing so, we sometimes infuriate the Left, so be it. You'll always know where we stand, and we hope you'll stand with us."

One of the publication's strongest criticisms of the news media involved a Wall Street Journal article on the John Birch Society. Entitled "Anatomy of a Smear," the article contended that the journalist did not interview leaders of the organization but instead, sought to perpetuate out-dated stereotypes.

The John Birch Society, as does The Spotlight, gives serious attention to major media links with the Council on Foreign Relations. The John Birch Society's exposure of the CFR includes the distribution of such materials as James Perloff's book, The Shadows of Power: The Council on Foreign Relations and the American Decline.

The New American's regular feature "Free Press", typically features items in conservative publications with which it agrees. Mainstream press actions are more likely to be discussed in the feature entitled "Out in Left Field" or "Correction, Please!." The New American also publishes a media-monitoring "Between the Lines" column by Joseph Farah, summarizing content in Farah's own publication by that name.

New American View
P.O. Box 999
Herndon, VA 22070-0999

The New American View states as its purpose "...to counter the excessive influence in the American government and Congress of the single-issue, pro-Israeli lobby, and to promote an America First attitude toward both U.S. domestic and foreign policies." It is a grass-roots organization that publishes a bi-monthly newsletter that contains news, views and in-depth analysis of the relationship between the U.S. and Israel.

New Dimensions: The Psychology Behind The News
111 N.E. Evelyn Avenue
P.O. Box 811
Grants Pass, OR 97526-0069

New Dimensions regularly runs a two-page ad which features pictures of television news anchors. The ad is entitled: "**shallow:** not deep; empty; superficial; not profound; boring; weak; flimsy, trifling or simple; unprofound; having little depth."

The April 1990 magazine uses quotes from a number of prominent journalists which reflect a liberal, political or social orientation (p. 26-27), liberal bias of business reporters (p. 30), liberal bias in grants of foundations funded by U.S. media organizations (p. 32), admissions of advocacy by news media (p. 33), and how several media "watchdog" organizations regularly document the major media's leftist orientation (p. 34).

The publication devotes two articles to illustrate how the media promote their political agendas. One deals with the way in which the media promote gun control and the other in which the media refuses to take a hard line on AIDS, but rather promotes "safe sex" and advocates policies which treat AIDS like a civil rights, (anti-discrimination policies), or a privacy issue, rather than a dangerous threat to public health.

The magazine cites as examples of "media advocacy" the skepticism with which the media regarded President Ronald Reagan, its opposition to the Vietnam War and this nation's Cold War against the former Soviet Union and its satellites.

In 1992 New Dimensions temporarily suspended publication, but it returned in June with a letter from Joseph Farah, its new editor-in-chief.

Parent's Choice
P.O. Box 185
Waban, MA 02168

The Parent's Choice Foundation was founded in 1978 by parents, librarians and educators who wanted to help children keep learning after school was out. This group reviews children's media--books, videos, movies, recordings, toys, games, music, and computer programs--to help parents make more informed choices about products provided to their children. Among the celebrities and distinguished people who have supported this organization are First Lady Barbara Bush, Susan Saint James, Ed Asner, Rita Moreno, LeVar Burton, Joan Rivers, Charles Durning, Julie Andrews, and Robin Williams.

Among the programs the organization offers are the quarterly newsletter Parents' Choice, the annual "Parents' Choice Awards", which recognize the year's best in each category of children's media, and a Hispanic literacy program, which researches and recommends children's books in Spanish for use in libraries.

Parents Music Resource Center
1500 Arlington Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22209

Parents Music Resource Center was organized to protest explicit rock music lyrics. It has two well-known co-founders: Susan Baker, wife of former Treasury Secretary and now Secretary of State James Baker; and Tipper Gore, wife of Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.); plus two others.

In her book, Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society, Tipper Gore gave the objective of the organization: "The PMRC proposed a unique mechanism to increase consumer choice in the marketplace instead of limiting it. Our approach was the direct opposite to censorship. We called for more information, not less. We did not advocate a ban of even the most offensive albums or tapes. We simply urged that the consumer be forewarned through the use of warning labels and/or printed lyrics visible on the outside packaging of music products. Critics used the smokescreen of censorship to dodge the real issue, which was lack of any corporate responsibility for the impact their products may have on young people."

The Center won a victory in 1985 when 19 top record companies agreed to start printing warnings of sexually explicit lyrics on album and music video packaging.

Parent Teacher Association
The National PTA
700 N. Rush Street
Chicago, IL 60611

The PTA has a position on mass media and its effects on children. The organization has directed efforts at improving the quality of children's television, particularly those that may affect the lives of children and youth. The national PTA is committed to the development and utilization of mass media as a rich resource for the delight and enrichment of America's children and youth.

Other positions include:

"A Rating System for Records, Tapes and Cassettes"--National PTA encourages record, tape and cassette producers to consider the explicit contents of some of their products and their responsibility to an unsuspecting public. It urges rating labels which would read "profanity," "sex," "violence" or "vulgarity," if applicable.

"Alcohol and Other Drugs" --In addition to other positions on alcohol and drugs, National PTA supports legislation to require health warning labels on alcohol beverage advertising. It also supports equal time for public service broadcasts about alcohol use and abuse, or the elimination of alcohol advertising on radio and television.

"Children's Television Programming"--National PTA supports federal legislation and regulation to require commercial television broadcasters to air more appropriate television programming for children during the main times that children watch TV; urge broadcasters to meet, exempt from antitrust laws, to develop guidelines to reduce children's exposure to programs depicting violence; and eliminate program-length commericals.

People for the American Way
2000 M Street, Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20036

People for the American Way is an organization of 277,000 members who are committed to defending free expression and counter efforts to curb civil rights and constitutional liberties.

People for the American Way publishes a quarterly newsletter, Forum, and another separately funded publication, Right-Wing Watch. The organization began as a response to television appeals of the Rev. Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority. Beginning in 1980, People For the American Way challenged Falwell on his own turf--the airwaves--with a response crafted by founder Norman Lear. It prompted an outpouring of support that formed the early membership of the group.

People For the American Way claims its persistent and publicized challenges to the Far Right televangelists weakened their credibility and hastened their eventual fall from grace in the late 1980s. Falwell folded his Moral Majority in 1989.

Project Censored
Sonoma State University
Rohnert Park, CA 94928

Project Censored, now in its 16th year, is the creation of Dr. Carl Jensen, its director. Each year a distinguished panel of journalists and academics select stories about a subject that should be known by a majority of the people but which has received minimal treatment in the major media. In 1991 there were 700 nominations for the 25 awards.

Project Censored now publishes an annual resource book, which provides more information about the top "censored" stories along with comments from many of the "censored" journalists who wrote the stories.

Jensen recently announced plans to publish his first America's CENSORED newsletter. It will report on censored issues throughout the year. Jensen explains: "Two aspects of Project Censored have frustrated me through the years. First is the problem of being able to share only 25 of the top censored stories of the year. We received more than 700 nominations last year and, believe me, you should have heard about many more than 25 of those stories. My second concern is having to hold some of those stories for a full year; the nominations come in throughout the year and it has frustrated me that I had no way to share them with you before the end of the year."

Project Vote Smart
Center For National Independence
In Politics
129 NW 4th St., Suite 204
Corvallis, OR 97330

The Center's goal is to become a trusted information base for politicians and citizens, young and old, conservative and liberal. It is out to abolish abusive campaign tactics by making factual information available to citizens on political issues and individual politicians. Some of its members include former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, former Senator Barry Goldwater and former Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro. Through Project Vote Smart and other programs this group hopes to get information to the citizens of the U.S., thereby renewing their confidence in the political process and resulting in a substantial increase in voter participation.

Other programs include a voter's toll free hotline that allows citizens to access information on candidates' positions and views on unique concerns, a voter's self-defense manual that is a written version of information available through the hotline, and a resource center for reporters that is accessible by telephone.

Propaganda Review
Media Alliance
Fort Mason Center, Building D
San Francisco, CA 94123

Media Alliance is a San Francisco-based non-profit organization of 2,800 writers, journalists and other media professionals. A regular feature is "Media Watch."

Propaganda Review was formed in 1984. One of its concerns was the propaganda practices of the Reagan administration. The founders believed that Reagan "was merely the communicator, indeed the Great Communicator, of a vastly more pervasive form of myth-creation and information-manipulation that heralded a new age of pre-digested political discourse and consciously molded popular consciousness."

Two recent columns show the publication believes the media are not challenging the status quo. One column deals with the Persian Gulf War and the other with the media overlooking the alternative press.

The Roundtable
1500 Wilson Blvd., Suite 502
Arlington, VA 22209

The Roundtable is a coalition of dedicated national leaders who have a concern for the moral rebirth of America. Their policy is to change America's mode of thinking toward a bibilically-rooted moral viewpoint. Some of the issues they focus on are: (1) The American Family, (2) Decency in television programming, (3) Freedom of worship, (4) Pornography, (5) Abortion, (6) Gay rights, (7) Child abuse.
A letter asking for input from the above organization was sent out on May 7, 1992. The letter was returned unopened and with no forwarding address.

The Spotlight
Liberty Lobby
300 Independence Avenue, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

The Spotlight publishes its creed:

"You can trust The Spotlight to give you 'the other side of the news'--to report on events which are vital to your welfare but which would otherwise be hushed up or distorted by the controlled press. So don't expect us to be 'objective' or 'unbiased.' We are biased toward the best interests of the majority of the consumers, taxpayers and voters: the hardworking, misled, exploited and brainwashed American producer--whether blue-collar or white-collar--who pays the bills for the super rich and the very poor.

"We make no attempt to give you 'both sides.' We'll leave the Establishment side to your daily newspaper, TV and radio. Make up your own mind who is being honest with you: The Establishment media or The Spotlight."

The Spotlight is a publication of the Liberty Lobby, which has a membership of 25,000. It reports a circulation of 200,000, making it the largest circulation publication of the political right. Liberty Lobby has a strong anti-Communist stance and attacks such institutions as the Federal Reserve System. It claims that both the Establishment media and the U.S. government give favorable treatment to Israel. It gives support to the Populist Party, which in 1988 ran Louisiana's David Duke for president.

The Spotlight has published in 1992 a new report: CENSORED: 108 Astounding Suppressed Stories Published Only By The SPOTLIGHT. It contains what the newspaper claims are its "best" and "biggest" stories published since the self-styled populist weekly first went to press in 1975.

In an advertisement for The Spotlight reprints, stories with the following headlines are featured: "America's Secret Government," "Did Your Vote Get 'Misplaced' in the Last Election?", "Did Your Tax Dollars Help Finance Jesse Jackson's Luxury Home?", "Does the Bible Really Say America Should Go to War?", "Are You Really a 'Conservative'--or Are You a Populist?", "Do You Know How the Rockefeller Family Has Seized Control of the 'Conservative Movement'?", and "Who's Behind the 'New World Order'."

St. Louis Journalism Review
8380 Olive Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63132

The St. Louis Journalism Review considers itself a critic of the national print and broadcast media. It covers news and issues not covered by the mass media. The 22-year-old publication is unique in

that it is the only survivor of about 30 journalism reviews published in the early seventies. It reprints news briefs from other publications about general topics and is the recipient of many awards, locally and nationally..

Recently it has been publishing a series of papers presented at the "Media Accountability and Responsibility System" (MARS) conference, co-sponsored by the University of Paris and the University of Nevarra (Spain). The MARS sessions were organized by Prof. Claude-Jean Bertrand to introduce U.S. methods of critricism to European media.

Topics have included press councils, media accountability systems, journalism reviews, journalism education, and the women's perspective of journalism.

Stop War Toys Campaign of the
New England War Resisters League
Box 1093
Norwich, CT 06360

This is a grassroots organization whose purpose is to educate, inform, and provide resources and information to people across the country, and across the world. Its goal is to reduce the number of violent toys sold to children.

Strategies for Media Literacy, Inc. (SML)
1095 Market Street, Suite 410
San Francisco, CA 94103

Strategies for Media Literacy, Inc., is a national, non-profit organiation that promotes media literacy education, beginning with early elementary education. The organization develops and publishes materials, identifies resources, conducts media literacy workshops and serves as a center of support and contact for teachers of media in the U.S.

Media literacy is defined as "the ability to decode, analyze, evaluate and produce communication in a variety of forms."

Among its services are its Strategies newsletter, "Media and You: An Elementary Media Literacy Curriculum," media literacy workshops, library, resource list, electronic bulletin board, and other teaching resources.

A few key concepts recommended when teaching about TV are: (1) Television programs follow a specific format. How has this one been constructed, and why was it done that way? (2) Balance and objectivity are journalistic ideals, but television, like a newspaper, has a point of view. What are the values and ideologies carried by this program? (3) The audience does not always get the same meaning that the producers intended. Was the meaning that was intended by this program different from the message that was received, and if so, why?

Telecommunications Consumer Coalition
Suite 921
105 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016

The Coalition is guided by the principles set forth in the Communications Policy Resolutions of the Consumer Federation of America and pronouncements of the General Synod of the United Church of Christ on freedom of speech and telecommunications practices. See United Church of Christ.

Telecommunications Research and Action Center
P.O. Box 12038
Washington, D.C. 20005

TRAC is a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization of individuals and professionals working to promote consumer interests in the traditional media and in the developing communications technologies.

TRAC publishes numerous consumer hand-books and pamphlets to help educate citizens on how to protect their own interests in the media. It also publishes Access, a monthly journal of telecommunications, and part of a nationwide campaign to deal with the confusion of the AT&T divestiture.

Times Mirror
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, CA 90053

The Times Mirror is an information company with interests in broadcast and cable television, which publishes books, magazines and the Los Angeles Times, Newsday, New York Newsday and others. Times Mirror uses data from Gallup polls to measure public opinion on a variety of subjects, ranging from political parties to freedom of the press. These results are printed in ads.

The Times Mirror owns the following: Times Mirror Newspapers, Times Mirror Magazines, Times Mirror TV Stations, Times Mirror Cable and Times Mirror Publishing.

TV Tune-in, USA
2230 Euclid
Cleveland, OH 44115

TV Tune-in is an organization dedicated to educating the public of the influence television has on society. The group believes in supporting high standards of broadcasting in both network and cable markets.

TV Tune-in's position on broadcast and cable is: The belief that radio and television have tremendous influence on individuals and society; it recognizes the impact of the electronic media; and it knows it is important to support high standards in broadcasting and cable.

It proposes that people: (1) Think about the impact of the electronic media on ideas and values. (2) Learn about the ecomomic reasons for what is on radio, TV and Cable. (3) Praise and support programs and commercials which teach positive social values. (4) Express opinion also about broadcast content which is offensive and presents human behavior and sexuality in a way that is insensitive, vulgar, sensational, gratuitously violent, pronographic or demeaning of any age, sex or race. (5) Become involved in ongoing concern and action with advertisers, broadcasters and cable companies. (6) Use "TV Tune-In", USA/Project Postcard to express opinion where they count.

United Church of Christ
105 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016

The United Church's concern about the mass media focuses primarily on the amount of violence and exploitative sex portrayed on television. It has a pronouncement that states its position on what television broadcasters should try to achieve in broadcasting.

The UCC calls upon churches, ministers and members of the United Church of Christ: (1) To inform themselves about the operation of the news media in their communities, and to support the media against encroachment on their freedoms. (2) To work for free access to the media by persons of all ponts of view, so that all sides of public issues may be heard, even when such views are contrary to those commonly held. (3) To promote high journalistic ethics in their communities. (4) To extend the prophetic voice of the church into the community through the mass media. See Telecommunications Consumer Coalition.

United Methodist Women Against Indecency on Television
28110 Providence Road
Charlotte, NC 28211

This media watch group publishes letters to major network television stations, voicing their disapproval of sexual indecency on television. The group is concerned about the effects programs exhibiting sex are having on children.

It monitors how products of advertisers are being associated with such offensive material and notifies them about it as well.

Viewers for Quality Television Inc.
P.O. Box 195
Fairfax Station, VA 22039

This group's purpose is to band together those viewers who recognize and appreciate excellence on commercial television and provide them with a forum in which to express their views. They strongly urge members to become active consumers of television by writing positive letters to the networks, their local affiliates, advertisers and TV critics.

It believes in the cause of viewer empowerment, as well as quality commercial network television. It seeks to support those shows which its members feel reflect that quality.

Its monthly newsletter The Viewer, contains a listing of "endorsed shows," shows which have received "tenative support," and monthly viewer surveys for members to evaluate current shows for future listings. Viewers rate television shows on the basis of "most watched" and "highest quality."

Washington Inquirer
Council for the Defense of Freedom
P.O. Box 28526
Washington, D.C. 20005

The Washington Inquirer is published by the Council for the Defense of Freedom. The Council was originally formed in 1951. It was concerned with the threat to freedom posed by Communist aggression, which was then manifested in the attack on the Republic of Korea. After observing the performance of the U.S. media in the Vietnam War and Nicaragua, the Council launched The Washington Inquirer to counteract what it considered to be the vulnerability of our news media to penetration and manipulation by Communists.

The Washington Inquirer regularly publishes conservative opinion pieces, including a weekly "Accuracy in Media" column by Reed Irvine and Joseph C. Goulden. It is delivered weekly to all members of Congress, to many offices in the executive branch, and to much of the Washington press corps.

The paper gave front-page treatment on May 17, 1991, to an exchange between AIM's Irvine and Goulden and Washington Post Board Chairman Katharine Graham at the Post's 1991 annual meeting.

A promotional pamphlet states: "The Inquirer tells about scandals our Big Media prefer to ignore--the scandalous conduct of the media and the media stars. While the Big Media was going after Secretary of Interior James Watt for using the word "cripple," The Inquirer was telling about the foul language used by the star news reader at CBS, Dan Rather, in refusing to give a reporter an interview. It exposed the CBS hatchet job on General Westmoreland before TV Guide did."

Washington Journalism Review
4716 Pontiac Street
College of Journalism
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20740-2493

The Washington Journalism Review seems concerned with typical worries of journalists: press freedom throughout the world, coverage of minorities or others who may be overlooked by the dominant society, decline of investigative journalism, and the growing marketing orientation of newsrooms as the news business faces hard financial times.

Like other publications in which journalists review the action of journalists, it was critical of the press' participation in the nation's enthusiasm for Desert Storm. Its March 1991 issue contained the following story summaries: "America's free press left its skepticism at the door as the Bush administration marched toward war," "The Bush administration's formula for avoiding another Vietnam: Muzzle the press," "As the world watched, and critics carped, Bernard Shaw, Peter Arnett and John Holliman stood their ground in Saddam's beleaguered capital," and "Picking up where TV left off, editors offered massive war packages with lively graphics and stories that put the war in perspective."

The WJR's regular features include: "Free Press," "The Business of Journalism," and "The Press and the Law."

The WJR publishes an annual "Directory of Selected News Sources," which has been criticized as biased in favor of liberal news sources.

Women and Language
Communication Department
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA 22030

This publication, part newsletter and part journal, is a research tool that shares many aims with the Organization for the Study of Communication Language and Gender. It is published by the Communication Department at George Mason University.

The mission of Women and Language is to provide a feminist forum for those interested in communication, language and gender. It tries to stimulate discussion on how gender is construed and how the processes of factors like hierarchy and difference are involved in gender constructions. This publication hopes to provide an outlet for descriptive research and theoritical speculation in this area.

Women Are Good News
1550 California Street
Suite 6318
San Francisco, CA 94109

The organization was founded in San Francisco in November, 1991, as a nationwide mediawatch and advocacy group to obtain fair and equitable representation of women in the media.

Some of the accomplishments of this organization include: an agreement with San Francisco PBS affiliate KQED to increase the number of women on a local public affairs program and to increase the number of women carried by other PBS affiliates. Representatives from WAGN also met with PBS executives in Virginia who made a verbal pledge to contact the producers of Washington Week In Review and the MacNeil Lehrer News Hour concerning the need for increased representation of women as guest journalists and experts.

Goals for WAGN include expanding advocacy efforts to include commercial television, radio and print media, producing a 1992 campaign analysis which studies how women candidates were treated by the media, continuing to work with PBS affiliates across the U.S. to address and improve their performance on using women commentators, establishing partnerships with professional groups and schools of journalism, and to establish relationships with high schools to introduce speakers and educational materials on the group's issues.

WAGN chapters are in the process of being set up in Boston, Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C.

The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press
3306 Ross Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

This publication is a nonprofit, tax-exempt, educational, research, publishing, and networking organization. It seeks to expand the exercise of freedom of the press (print and nonprint) so that women's outreach to the whole public is equal to that of men, thereby making the world's communications system more democratic.

The Institute seeks women's equal presence in media at all levels---in employment, news coverage, and in the accurate reflection of women's abilities and their political, economic and social options.

They are working together to register their unity, to aid each other's media efforts, and to increase the resources allocated to constructive changes that move them toward equality with men in their ability to reach the public.

Women, Men & Media
School of Journalism
University of Southern California
GFS-315
Los Angeles, CA 90089-1695

This organization is a research and outreach project examining and monitoring gender issues in the mass media. It was founded in 1987 to battle against the imbalance and distortion in the coverage and representation of men and women. The organization's permanent institution came about from three successful national conferences in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., which were sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Women and Men, and the USC School of Journalism.

Women, Men & Media is co-chaired by Betty Friedan and Nancy Woodhull.

The scope of Women, Men & Media goes beyond previous concerns about the number of women employed in the mass media and specific sex discrimination. The project embraces the larger questions about the media as shapers of American culture and thought. The organization is documenting how men and women are presented and employed in the rapidly expanding media industry.

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